

THE  
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

N<sup>O</sup>. CXLI. OCTOBER 1910.

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ART. I.—A JEWISH VIEW OF THE SYNOPTIC  
GOSPELS.

1. *The Synoptic Gospels*. Edited, with an Introduction and a Commentary, by C. G. MONTEFIORE. Volumes I–II. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1909.)
2. *Some Elements of the Religious Teaching of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels*. The 'Jowett Lectures' for 1910. By C. G. MONTEFIORE. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1910.)
3. *Jewish Forerunners of Christianity*. By ADOLPH DANCIGER. (London: John Murray. 1904.)
4. *Aspects of the Jewish Question*. By a Quarterly Reviewer. (London: John Murray. 1902.)
5. *The Law of Love in the Old and New Testaments*. By the Rev. GERALD FRIEDLANDER. (London: J. Miles and Co. 1909.)
6. *The Modern Jewish View of Jesus*. By Professor CLYDE W. VOTAW. (Chicago University Press. 1910.)
7. *Truth in Religion and other Sermons*. By C. G. MONTEFIORE. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1906.)

MR. MONTEFIORE has given us two very interesting books. A Jew's view of the Gospels is always likely to be of value, because of his special interest in the life which is there described. But Mr. Montefiore is no ordinary Jew. He is a man of wide knowledge and of wide sympathies, and he approaches the Synoptic Gospels in a religious spirit, and with an entirely religious purpose. Great as his agreement

is with what is known as 'advanced' criticism, it is construction, and not destruction, which he has throughout in view. In the larger and more important book he writes mainly for his own people, and his object is to shew how profoundly valuable our Lord's moral teaching is for them, and how great is their loss if they suppose that they have nothing to learn from Christian writings. How far he is likely to convince them, it is not for a Christian to judge. We cannot but fear that the immense space which he devotes to modern criticism of the Gospels will militate somewhat against his success. We should prefer, we must confess, that a Jew should read the Gospels in the first instance without Mr. Montefiore's commentary. This is not because we dread the effect of anything which he would read there, but because we fear that the critical interest will distract his attention from the ethical one. To appreciate the highest ethical teaching, we need to approach it with a purely ethical interest, and a critical commentary of over eleven hundred pages is scarcely a help towards doing so. But Mr. Montefiore knows his own people and we do not, and it is for us simply to wish him all the success which he has deserved. Nothing but good can come of such an attempt as he has made. When he writes of our Lord, 'We must restore this hero to the bead-roll of our heroes; we must read his story; we must learn from it and gain from it all (and it is not little) which it can give us and teach us,' we feel that he is seeking to do for his people the first thing that needs to be done for them. If our Lord is ever to be their Lord as well as ours, it is in His perfect manhood that He must first be seen.

Thus much it is necessary to say as to the main purpose of the book before attempting to deal with it from our own Christian standpoint. A Christian will, of course, have much to say in the way of criticism, but he must remember, as he says it, that he is dealing with a book which is not in intention controversial. Mr. Montefiore is not attacking Christianity, nor is he explaining his own reasons for not accepting the Christian faith. There is much—notably the evidence for our Lord's resurrection—with which, if he were



writing controversially, he would have to deal, but which he here almost entirely passes by as irrelevant to the purpose that he has in view. But Mr. Montefiore, if he ever reads these lines, will doubtless recognize that a Christian is bound none the less to criticize his book. His commentary is far too good to be ignored. Modestly as he writes of his own qualifications for his task, he has produced a book of real value for Christians as well as for Jews. To take but one point : nowhere, so far as we know, can we find the views of the best known writers of the 'advanced' critical school so well collected and compared. Moreover, his own views, when he gives them to us, are by no means as valueless as his own modest language might lead us to suppose. Apart from the necessary implications of his own religious position, he appears to us to possess a far more balanced judgement, to be far less the slave of cut-and-dried theories, than some of those whose words he most frequently reproduces. Writing as a Jew, he has a special contribution of his own to make. Christian writers have, he thinks, done grave injustice both to the character and to the religion of the Jews of our Lord's day, and he has much to say on this subject which is worthy of our attention. He points out, for instance, again and again how fully the best Rabbinical teaching accords with what our Lord says ; he insists that the Rabbis were sprung from the people, and loved the people, and that there is no real evidence of the existence of 'disinherited masses,' destitute of a share in the religious life of the nation. When the third volume, with its additional notes by Mr. Abrahams, is given to us, there will evidently be far more evidence on such points as these than at present we possess. But even now we should like to say how very strong we often feel Mr. Montefiore's case to be. His defence of his people is all the more effective from its moderation. Here and there perhaps, as when he argues from the character of the Judaism of the sixth century to that of the Judaism of the first, his love for his people may carry him too far ; surely between the first century and the sixth the Jews had been purified as by fire and had learned deeper and more spiritual views of

the kingdom of God than they had possessed in our Lord's day. But, speaking broadly, a more candid writer it would be impossible to find. Not only is he ready to blame his own people when he thinks them worthy of blame, but he does not even conceal from us the weakness which he finds in the Liberal Judaism which he himself adopts. 'It may be argued,' he says in commenting upon St. Mark ii 21, 22, 'that Liberal Judaism in any of its forms is an attempt to patch the old with the new, to put new wine into old bottles. . . . I think a good answer can be found, but the argument is serious, and needs most earnest consideration.' We do not ourselves think that his position is here open to serious objection ; his wine, if we may say so without impertinence, appears to us quite as old as his bottles. We quote the words to shew the character of the writer with whom we have to deal. Such candour as this ought to beget a corresponding candour in all who speak of his book. If we criticize, our criticism will be directed, not so much against Mr. Montefiore personally, as against the principles and methods of that school of criticism which he so largely follows.

But, before turning to this, it will be of interest to Christian readers to see how such a Jew as Mr. Montefiore speaks about the character and teaching of our Lord. With regard to the former, may we not say that he regards our Lord just as He Himself must surely desire to be regarded by one who does not yet believe on Him ?

'Through the mists of miracle and legend we see a character not indeed perfect, for his attitude neither to his mother nor to his opponents seems to me without question, but yet noble ; a character, moreover, finely balanced and tempered. Jesus was virile, but gentle ; severe, but pitiful. He was confident, yet humble. Aloof from the world, yet not gloomy. What a grand grip he had upon essentials, upon the fatherhood of God, and upon the service of God in the service of man. How positive was his goodness. How he hated shams, meanness, hypocrisy, self-righteousness. These hatreds reveal the sort of man he was, filled with pity for the outcasts of society, with scorn for the respectably virtuous who so carefully avoided evil and yet performed so little good.'



Mr. Montefiore is not alone among modern Jews in this appreciation; Mr. Danziger writes in a very similar spirit. And should we wish a Jew to say more? 'Why callest thou Me good?' are surely words which would sometimes fall from our Lord's lips to-day, if He had to deal with some of His more extravagant Unitarian panegyrists. We see no justification for going further than Mr. Montefiore goes if we do not hold the Christian view of our Lord's Person. Neither our Lord's attitude towards the law of His nation nor His denunciations of their teachers would be easy to justify if we thought of Him simply as a man 'born under the law,' and Himself, in however slight a degree, a transgressor against it. There is only one point on which we think Mr. Montefiore seriously unfair. He ascribes our Lord's language about His opponents to personal hatred, and says that He predicts with complacency their destruction. Surely our Lord's tears over Jerusalem ought to have been sufficient to save Him from such a charge as this. The fact, we think, is, as Mr. Montefiore's rather crude language about eternal punishment seems to shew, that he distinguishes imperfectly between the righteous anger that recognizes sin as being what it is, and accepts God's judgement upon it, and the personal malice which rejoices at the destruction of personal enemies. But even here there are two things which Christians ought to remember. In the first place, if our Lord's prophecies of doom never pass into satisfaction in the contemplation of it, as much cannot always be said of those of His so-called followers. In the second place, we ought to remember what pain to a Jew our Lord's language about the scribes and Pharisees must give. The scribes and Pharisees are not here to defend themselves, and we must not be surprised if the zeal of a Jew in their defence sometimes carries him a little too far. Even where blame is given to our Lord, it is given with regret, and not without an effort to throw doubt upon His actual use of the severest language attributed to Him. The appreciation of our Lord's moral teaching is equally generous. Mr. Montefiore will not allow, we are glad to see, that it was merely an 'Interims-Ethik'

—that it prescribed a mode of life only suitable or possible in view of the immediate destruction of the present order, and the immediate coming of the kingdom of God. He thinks that our Lord's moral teaching shews a real advance upon that of the teachers who went before Him. He marks how His words 'have this sovereign quality, that they are capable of wide and varied application'; he points out the stress which they lay upon active and positive beneficence, how 'to follow him has been for endless noble souls to labour and renounce for the sake of truth, for the sake of man, for the sake of God.' He notices how Jesus, in contrast with the Baptist, 'encouraged, stimulated, comforted,' and how He held up the ideal of perfection. 'Jews,' he says, 'must greatly beware lest they tend to become tinctured with Philistinism and (in the bad sense) with bourgeois respectability.' They must

'be very careful not to lessen the content, the infiniteness, and the paradox of the ideal. They will otherwise infallibly lessen the beauty, the greatness, the originality, the *abandon*, and the grandeur of the moral and religious characters, which only such ideals can produce and sustain.'

Our Lord's teaching, he says again, 'is fresher and more instinct with genius than that of the Rabbis, of whose teaching we have records in Talmud and Midrash. It is more inspired. It is grander. It is more prophetic.' Especially does he approve our Lord's stern teaching as to divorce.

'The unerring ethical instinct of Jesus led him to put his finger upon the weak spots and sore places of the established religion. Of all such weak spots and sore places, this was the weakest and the sorest. And the weakest and sorest it still remains.'

If we have any criticism to offer at this point, it is that Mr. Montefiore represents our Lord's teaching as traversing that of the Law more than it appears to us to do. Surely the principle 'I came not to destroy, but to fulfil' does explain our Lord's teaching more widely than he is ready



to recognize. We should certainly maintain that both 'Swear not at all' and 'Resist not evil' are admirable examples of this principle. While the old law insisted upon truthfulness in those who were upon their oath, the new law insists upon it everywhere. While the old law limited revenge, the new law abolished it altogether. In a similar way, the object of the law about the 'bill of divorcement' was not to encourage putting away, but to insist that, if done at all, it should be done in a legal and formal manner. Our Lord abolished divorce.

How then is it, the Christian will naturally ask, that in spite of this generous appreciation of our Lord and of His teaching, Mr. Montefiore is not himself a Christian? Certainly we grudge him greatly to any faith but our own. '*Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses.*' To the Christian the pages of the Synoptic Gospels seem to bear continual witness to the Divine Christ. How is it that Mr. Montefiore, who sees so much in our Lord, does not see any more? Here we come at once to those 'critical' methods of dealing with the Gospel narrative which he adopts, and it is with them that we shall have chiefly to deal. Of course we have nothing to say against the application to the Gospels of sound methods of historical research. The Synoptic Gospels not only admit of, they imperatively demand, a critical treatment. Plainly they depend upon documents older than themselves, or upon an oral tradition which is practically equivalent to documents. Plainly, also, the Evangelists deal with these sources, each in his own way, and are not always in detail consistent one with another. There is much literary, and even historical, criticism to be undertaken, in which a Jew and a Catholic Christian will stand upon practically the same ground. Nor shall we for a moment quarrel with Mr. Montefiore because, as we think, his mind was made up against belief in our Lord's Divinity long before he gave any detailed study to the Synoptic Gospels. The Christian no more approaches the Gospels 'with an open mind' than the Jew does. The controversy between Christian and non-Christian Theism has to be fought out upon the widest possible field. The Gospel story is one of the data

with which we have to deal, and perhaps the most important of all. But we have to explain not only the Gospels, but the Church, human life, the world itself. Above all, faith has to be tested in life. The intellectual conflict, as Eucken says, is an affair of outposts: the real conflict is between ways of living. Thus we are perfectly right to approach any particular problem with which we have to deal in the strength of all the convictions which we have formed and tested in other fields. We cannot isolate critical problems from all other problems, and deal with them by a critical method which is the same for everybody who employs it. The Christian, for example, does not ordinarily read the Gospels to ascertain whether his Master is Divine. That, he will say, he knows already,—from his own experience and from the age-long experience of the Church. He is sure that in our Lord a new and Divine power entered into the world, and has been at work in it ever since. Both the Jew and the Christian will approach the Gospels with his mind already made up upon the main issue, and both will insist that their respective prejudgements are not prejudices, but rest upon rational grounds. What we do complain of in Mr. Montefiore is that he seems not to grasp this, and assumes that the difficulties presented by the Gospel story are the same for everybody, and must be approached by everybody in the same way. No one can recognize more fully than he does how impossible it is to know a religion except from within; what he fails to see is how profoundly the critical problems are affected by actual experience of the religion with which they are connected. Thus he writes as if we possessed no materials except the Synoptic Gospels which we can use in judging of our Lord's Personality and claims. The Christian will not admit this at all. Not only, as Harnack so well urges, must we take account in our estimate of our Lord of the impression which He made upon those who knew Him best, and so of the witness of the New Testament as a whole, but we must take account also of all the experience which the Church has had of Him from the first days until now. The Christian Church has always felt itself to be in possession of a new



and redeeming power, and to be able to trace that power to the Lord in whom it believes. To worship God 'in spirit' as well as 'in truth' does not mean, as Mr. Montefiore supposes, to worship Him by an effort of the human mind; it means to worship Him in the power of a new life which He Himself has bestowed. If Mr. Montefiore wishes to understand how it is that Christians demand faith in what he regards as irrational dogmas, if final blessedness is to be attained, we can but refer him to St. Paul's words, 'Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?' That is an appeal, not to dogma but to actual spiritual experience. 'One can win one's way,' says Mr. Montefiore, 'to the Father, without Jesus and without Paul as well as with them.' Certainly, if to win one's way to the Father means no more than he thinks that it means. But to the Catholic Christian it means something totally different. The supernatural blessedness for which he looks cannot be attained without the possession of supernatural life, and morality in itself will not bestow it, however indispensable morality may be. That is St. Paul's point against the legal religion in which he was reared. It is not that a legal religion is valueless, or that God pays no regard to it; on the contrary, 'if there had been a law given which could make alive, verily righteousness would have been of the law.' It is simply that a new divine life is what is needed, and that this divine life is not in fact given, except where faith in Christ 'openly set forth crucified' has been actually attained. Accustomed as Mr. Montefiore is to think of Christianity as it is understood by the critical writers of Germany, he regards the comparison of the teaching of our Lord with that of the Rabbis as being far more important than to the Catholic Christian it can ever be. The Catholic Christian ought to have no desire to depreciate the great Jewish Rabbis in order to enhance the glory of his own Master, or to deny what the Psalmists as well as Mr. Montefiore assert, that the true Jew finds in the fulfilment of the Law 'the highest human joy.' If some new discovery were to shew that Hillel had enunciated the golden rule, he would be very glad for Hillel's sake, and

not in the least disturbed for his Master's. When Mr. Montefiore maintains against the Lutheran commentator that 'there can be a religion of forms and ceremonies, and even of priests, which may *also* be, for many of its believers and practisers, a religion of inwardness and conscience,' the Catholic Christian is altogether upon his side. The contrast which he will draw will be in a very different sphere. It will be the Pauline contrast between a religion of law and a religion of divine life, between the letter and the spirit—not in the sense of a more and a less rigid moral system, but in the sense of a code on one side and a divine indwelling power upon the other. We do not quarrel with Mr. Montefiore at all for denying what St. Paul and the Church here assert. We only quarrel with him for regarding Christianity throughout his book as a legal religion like his own, for speaking of the Sermon on the Mount as containing 'the main principles of the religion of Jesus,' for supposing that the demand for faith in our Lord is simply a new and unjustifiable demand of a legal character, and above all at this point for regarding the methods of criticism which he adopts as common ground for all really critical investigators, and the problems presented by the Gospels as the same for everybody. This they certainly are not. Some of these supposed critical principles the experience of the Christian will enable him to rule out altogether, while the greatest light will be thrown upon many of the historical problems by his own well-grounded convictions. Mr. Montefiore at all events will understand what we mean. 'When I think,' he writes,

'of the gigantic results of both Christianity and Mohammedanism, it seems to me, in some moods and for some reasons, less difficult to believe that they are based upon, or partly built up from, certain special divine interventions than that they are based upon what we call "illusions."'

How in these most reasonable moods does he argue? He brings his well-grounded Theistic convictions to bear upon historical problems. Nothing can be more sensible. This would not lead him to neglect any particle of historical



evidence, but in the obscurity of the historical evidence he uses all the knowledge he possesses instead of arbitrarily ruling out all but historical considerations. The Catholic Christian, without the slightest injury to his 'critical' conscience, will do exactly the same thing. In making up his mind about our Lord's claim to Messiahship, or about His foundation of the Church and its connexion with the kingdom of God, he will bring to bear all that he knows about our Lord and about the life of the Church. What can be more rational than this procedure?

Does, then, this mean that an objective view of the Synoptic Gospels is altogether impossible, that every one will read them in his own way, and that argument is useless between those whose presuppositions are so widely different? Not so. In approaching so complicated a problem as the nature of our Lord's Personality we must begin somewhere, and we may well begin at the Synoptic Gospels. If we set aside for the moment all other sources of light, on whose side shall we find these Gospels to be? Are they most easily explicable upon the Christian, or upon the Unitarian hypothesis? That is evidently a question of considerable importance, and it is a question to which Mr. Montefiore's book at once provides an answer. No doubt these Gospels present difficulties to the Catholic Christian as well as to the Unitarian. But the Christian view enables us, speaking broadly, to take the Gospels as they stand, and to believe what they say. The view of the critics whom Mr. Montefiore follows does not enable us to take a page of the Gospels as it stands, or to believe them as a whole at all. That is a simple matter of fact, and, if anybody doubts it, he has only to study Mr. Montefiore's commentary. Obviously, in moments of difficulty, the resources of critical hypothesis are just as much at the disposal of the Christian as of anybody else. The Christian, as legitimately as anybody else, may always find reasons for doubting whether our Lord said what He is related to have said, or did what He is related to have done. Mr. Montefiore thinks that we ought to be greatly disturbed when our Lord says, 'Why callest thou Me good?' Suppose,

then, that we were. Critical solutions would lie close at hand. We might at once take refuge in the true text of St. Matthew. We might point out that 'Good Master' is a 'strange' expression, unlikely to be original, while 'What good thing shall I do?' is a characteristic expression of Jewish 'legalism.' Obviously, then, we might urge, the word 'good' has somehow been transferred from the one clause to the other, and our Lord never disclaimed goodness at all. This might be very wilful and prejudiced criticism, but this solution of our difficulty would lie ready to hand. What we are pointing out is that Christians do not, as a matter of fact, take refuge in this kind of subjective criticism, while those whom Mr. Montefiore follows continually do. And the reason is very simple. It is not merely that the Christian has a greater traditional reverence for the Gospels; it is that he is not tempted to do it. The Synoptic Gospels contain so very little that even at first sight suggests a difficulty. With the 'advanced critics' it is altogether otherwise. Not believing in the supernatural Christ, they find difficulties at every point. His miracles, His prophecies, the correspondence of His life and experience with the Old Testament anticipations, His witness to Himself and that of others to Him, above all God's witness to Him in the Resurrection—all these things have to be somehow got rid of, and by the time the necessary work is done it is difficult to find six consecutive verses which can be accepted as they stand. Could the Christian desire a more impressive proof that the Gospels bear witness to his own Christ and not to theirs?

But indeed this seems to be no longer denied. We hear indeed much about 'the historic Christ,' and, if we read carelessly, we may suppose that to Mr. Montefiore's favourite critics 'the historic Christ' is a substantial and clearly discerned figure, by whose simple and graceful proportions we can at once detect the embellishments of Catholic legend. M. Loisy especially speaks in this way. '*Jamais le Christ de l'histoire n'aurait dit: le ciel et la terre passeront, mes paroles ne passeront point.*' If our Lord is found to speak of believers as believers in Himself, that is '*façon de*



*parler absolument inusitée dans la bouche du Christ historique.*' But when we ask who and what was the historic Christ, and whence we derive our knowledge of him, his elusive character becomes at once manifest. No two of his admirers appear to be agreed about him. In a sense very different from St. Paul's, he is all things to all men. To M. Renan he appears as a Frenchman, and to the Germans as a German. Never perhaps has this come out more clearly than in Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, but Mr. Montefiore makes it very clear also. How did the historic Christ think of himself and of his mission? Did he regard himself as the Messiah? If so, how soon did he come so to regard himself, and what kind of Messiah did he suppose himself to be? He preached the kingdom of God. What was it to be? Was it to be wholly transcendental, a new order, to come by the act of God without human co-operation? Was the Church to prepare for it, or itself to realize it? Or are we mistaken in supposing that he ever intended to found a Church at all? How did he conceive his own relation to the Father, and to the kingdom? How did he think of his death? Was it the end of all his hopes, or did he expect to realize the position intended for him after passing through it? To such questions, it seems, we can only expect most hesitating answers. Again, how do we obtain our knowledge of him? Obviously, we must learn of him from testimony, or not at all. Who, then, are his witnesses? Certainly, on the shewing of the critics themselves, not the Apostles. They preached a Christ of a totally different character. The Pauline and Johannine writings must, the critics hold, be put aside altogether. Can we then give our confidence to the Synoptic Gospels? Apparently they are no more reliable than the apostolic preaching. St. Matthew is hopelessly Catholic: he is the Evangelist of the Church. St. Luke is little better. 'In numerous details Luke marks the transition from the old Marcan tradition and wording to the conceptions and traditions of the fourth Gospel.' May we then fall back upon St. Mark? 'Mark is not by any means the mere simple narrator. He has a theology

which the facts must be expanded, modified, and interpreted to suit.' 'His Gospel,' says M. Loisy,

'is a deliberate Pauline interpretation of the primitive tradition. . . . It is significant that Jesus in x. 45 declares that he came to give his life as a ransom for many. But it is more significant still that the story of the Last Supper has become the story of the institution of the Eucharist by means of the introduction of formulae which are directly inspired by the Pauline conception of the Eucharist. . . . It is in order to reserve for Paul one of the first places in the Kingdom of God that Jesus refuses to grant the request of the sons of Zebedee.'

To Mark, says Johannes Weiss, 'Jesus was Son of God from his birth, as he was to Paul.' 'The whole narrative of the ministry at Jerusalem,' says Loisy again, 'is dominated by one sole thought: Jesus is the Christ who must fulfil the prophecies and achieve the salvation of the world through his death: he knew his own destiny and the future of humanity.' Or, finally, can we trust Q, that lost document upon which St. Matthew and St. Luke are supposed so largely to depend for the material not contained in St. Mark? Alas! it appears that Q is in equally parlous case.

'Neither in Mark nor in Q, as Bousset reminds us, can we be sure that we find the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus. Both Q and Mark, the former as well as the latter, may often reflect the later thoughts of the community as it attempted to recall and record the words of the Master, crucified and in glory. The gigantic fact of the crucifixion, and what was believed to have happened to the crucified one after his death, involuntarily coloured and altered a good deal of what he had actually said.'

Plainly then, according to the believers themselves in this 'historic Christ,' we possess no witness to him pure and undefiled at all. He is not the Christ of Scripture as contrasted with the Christ of dogma; he is not the Christ of the Synoptists as contrasted with the Christ of St. John and of St. Paul; he is not the Christ of St. Mark as contrasted with the Christ of St. Matthew or of St. Luke; he is not the Christ of any recoverable sources which may



lie behind the Gospels, as contrasted with the Christ of the Gospels themselves; so far as the supernatural character of the Christ is concerned, all these authorities are in substantial agreement. Will Christians, then, be going one whit too far if they assert that the one thing certain about the 'historic Christ' is that he is not historical? So far as the evidence goes, the supernatural Christ, the Christ of dogma, is really the Christ of history, and the 'historic Christ' is really the Christ of a mere dogma, a Christ whose existence rests upon no foundation whatever, except the native certainty of the critics that the great Teacher, who was so obviously human, could not have been also Divine.

How then, the witness of the Gospels being what it is, do our critics deal with it? Firstly, they assume their dogma. 'Miracles do not happen,' and Jesus was no more than a man. Then with this dogmatic standard of belief they proceed to the judgement of the Gospel story, and deny the truth of everything they find there which refuses to conform to the canon which has been laid down. We do not mean that no other reasons are ever given for the rejection of the Gospel statements; very ingenious reasons are sometimes given, but it is the stern rigidity of the dogma which really lies behind. And if we ask 'How is it that, if these things are not true, they have come to be related?' we are referred to 'the inventive genius of Paul' or the enthusiastic exaggeration of the Apostolic Church. 'Exaggeration,' says Mr. Montefiore,

'was naturally most rampant in all that had to do with the person and office of the Master. Jesus had undoubtedly performed some striking wonders of "healing." These are made more wonderful still. Fresh miracles are invented; ordinary events are turned into miracles. . . . Jesus is always in the right; his opponents are always in the wrong. He reads men's thoughts and hearts. He, not so much as God's prophet, but in virtue of his own personality and authority, announces and grants the forgiveness of sin. He is the Messiah, and God proclaimed his Messiahship to him at the very beginning of his ministry. . . . He foreknew and foretold the sequence of his life and death: all was pre-arranged, foreordained. . . . Jesus the Messiah "rises" after his

death to immortal life. This too he predicted and foreknew. . . . The Messiah was God's Son. . . . Both in this Messianic sense and in a spiritual sense Jesus may well have felt and held himself to be the Son of God. Here too the Gospel "exaggerates" upon a historic basis. It pushes the date of his sonship backwards: it hardens the meaning of it, separating Jesus ever more and more from other men, increasing his measure of divinity, magnifying his conception of it, till finally we get the stories of the infancy, the annunciation and the miraculous birth. Jesus becomes the Son of God not merely as the Messiah, but as metaphysically related to the Godhead. . . . He becomes not merely a divine being, but a part of God Himself, with powers hardly inferior to those of his Father. And with these exalted powers there comes an increased and deadly particularism. If Jesus, like all passionate reformers, could not imagine that there could be any right which was not on his own side, his disciples soon came to believe that none could know God and love him well unless they believed in Jesus and his divinity.'

Now the first thing which we wish to remark is this. Nothing is easier than lightly to dismiss the miraculous element in the Gospels, so long as we do not attempt to explain in detail the way in which it came into existence. But acute difficulty immediately arises when the narratives of the Gospel have to be dealt with individually by one who, like Mr. Montefiore, is capable of appreciating their spiritual beauty and depth. All exaggeration presupposes the existence of something which can be exaggerated. It implies also a motive or a reason for the exaggeration, and—if the exaggeration is ever to be mistaken for the truth—a public to which the exaggeration appeals, and which is prepared to welcome it. Let us consider for a moment the first of these points. If our Lord healed many of the sick, an exaggerated report of His action may assert that He healed them all. If He claimed to be Son of God in one sense, an exaggerated report of His words may assert that He claimed to be Son of God in another. But, on the other hand, if He never walked upon the sea, or fed five thousand people with a few loaves and fishes, it is not exaggeration but invention to assert that He did. If He



did not, and could not, foretell His death, it is not exaggeration but invention to assert that He repeatedly did so. If He never for a moment suggested that His death had anything to do with our forgiveness, it is not exaggeration but invention to report Him as saying that He came to give His life a ransom for many, and that His Blood was shed for the remission of sins. We may multiply nought by any number that we please, but it still remains persistently nought; and we cannot explain the Apostolic witness as the exaggeration of something which was never there. Thus, as Mr. Montefiore sees, a theory of simple exaggeration will not serve him; he has to postulate invention; and how is all this invention to be explained? Was it wilful and deliberate or was it naive and unconscious, and, whichever it was, how did it come to be accepted by those who had so well known the Lord and His earthly life? Now to these questions we never get from Mr. Montefiore any but the most hesitating answers. We quite recognize that the special object which he had in view in writing his book, together with his own modesty, largely explain this, but it is necessary to point out that no answers are possible. We will take, firstly, the general question of miracles, and, secondly, the question of our Lord's mission and claims. In each we shall see that there is no possible explanation of the existence of the narratives unless we suppose that the deeds and words ascribed to our Lord were actually His.

We take, firstly, the question of our Lord's miracles. The Christian, of course, would prefer to begin with the crucial question of the Resurrection. But, as Mr. Montefiore practically leaves this upon one side, we will leave it upon one side also, and deal with the miracles of our Lord's earthly life. The Christian's position in this matter is very simple. 'Miracles,' in the case of our Lord, present no difficulty to him at all. He believes that our Lord was a supernatural Person, and expects Him to act in a supernatural way. He believes that His life and mission constituted a unique event in human history, and he expects the phenomena accompanying them to be as

unique as they. He sees in God's dealings with Israel a Divine preparation for our Lord's coming, and in God's dealings with the Church a continuous activity of the same redeeming power so fully manifested in our Lord; he will be entirely prepared, on good evidence, to accept miracles both before and after our Lord's coming. This will not prevent him from scrutinizing evidence, and dealing with it on historical principles, but he will totally decline to rule out miracles in advance. Now what, in contrast with this, is Mr. Montefiore's position? Starting from the dogma that 'miracles do not happen,' he is bound to rule them out wherever they occur. 'Striking wonders of healing' may be explained by purely natural laws, and so they may be accepted, but further than this he cannot go. If our Lord is related to have foretold His Passion in detail, that is plainly a *vaticinium post eventum*. It is 'sheer miracle,' for Jesus to cure a child through its mother's faith; it is 'naked supernaturalism' to delegate the power to expel demons; 'with regard to Peter and Jesus walking on the sea, we neither believe that the story happened nor that such a thing could happen.' But then it is just this 'sheer miracle,' this 'naked supernaturalism,' of which even the earliest Gospel is full, and, as a commentator, he must somehow deal with it, and that in narratives of which the vivid detail and spiritual beauty have already taken him captive. Take, for example, his comments on the story of the cleansing of the leper in St. Mark i 40-45. On the one hand the dogma is relentless. 'Leprosy is not a nerve disease, which "suggestion" or the influence of personality can cure.' On the other hand,

'However miraculous the story may be, there is a great air of historical verisimilitude in its human touches. . . . The bearing of Jesus, his curious mixture of compassion and severity, his insistence upon the man obeying and fulfilling the letter of the Law, all seem to indicate that the story has a historic background.'

Or take, again, the feeding of the five thousand. That, like the previous example, belongs confessedly to the very



earliest stratum of the Christian tradition; it has an excellent historic connexion, and is as full as the previous example of the marks of genuineness. 'Note,' says Mr. Montefiore, 'the pity which Jesus feels for the neglected "multitude."' It is also characteristic and charming that he is not merely anxious to look after their souls.' Just so. Then how are we to deal with the story? Is it that 'numbers soon get magnified in oral tradition, and a kindly gift of food is turned into a miracle'? How is such a transformation possible? Reduce the numbers of the crowd which followed our Lord as we will, a crowd it will remain. Whence did our Lord derive the material with which to feed it? Or is it, as Dr. Carpenter thinks, 'due to the blending of various imaginative impulses, in which suggestions from different sources, working, it may be, on some actual reminiscence, have been moulded together into one whole'? Is it, in other words, a combination of 2 Kings iv 42-44 with the incidents of the Christian Eucharist? As far as the wording of the narrative is concerned, this is likely enough. The Christian who believes in the unity of God's dealings with men will delight to trace the parallel between Elisha and our Lord, and delight still more to see how our Lord prepared men by this very miracle for the reception of His teaching about our Eucharistic food. The profound mystery, which must ever enwrap the method of this miracle, is the very point which so admirably adapts it to be an illustration of the Divine action in the Eucharist. But by what conceivable process of thought could the suitability of the miracle have given birth in the mind of the Evangelist to the belief that it had actually taken place, or could it have induced the Apostolic Church, full of Galilean converts, to accept the account of it, if it had not? To believe such explanations as these is a great deal more difficult than to believe the miracles themselves. But this kind of explanation, if we are to call it explanation, is adopted again and again. If an Old Testament parallel exists for anything that is related, if an incident is described in Old Testament language, if anything that our Lord says or does lends obvious support to the Gospel afterwards

preached in His Name, or to its extension beyond the limits of Israel, we are at once, and upon that ground, asked to believe that it is not historical. Apparently, the great mark of truth is not harmony, which we had always supposed to be a mark of the ways of God, but want of harmony, both with the past and with the future. Could anything be more arbitrary? What we protest against, be it understood, is not the suggestion that the Gospel narratives are coloured by Old Testament reminiscences, or by the spiritual application which the Church was accustomed to make of them; it is the suggestion that such reminiscences and applications will account for the invention of the narratives themselves. If, for example, it is maintained that it is inconceivable that those who mocked our Lord upon the Cross should have mocked Him in the words of the twenty-second Psalm, we entirely agree; nothing is more natural than that the real parallel between our Lord's experience and the Psalmist's should have led the early Christian tradition to cast the words actually used to our Lord in this particular form. What we protest against is the recurring idea that the existence of such parallels justifies us in setting aside the narratives in which they occur, and that the presence of a profound meaning, only seen at a later time, in our Lord's words and actions proves that He never said the one or performed the other. But this is the 'critical method' which Mr. Montefiore seems to approve. And if it is urged upon him that the Gospel narrative is a living whole, and that he cannot retain the teaching which he approves and reject the miracles which he dislikes, he declines to be 'perturbed' by this 'favourite argument.' He will 'continue cheerfully to discredit the miracles, but to maintain the historical character of Jesus.' We can only, for our part, in view of the way in which teaching and miracles are bound up together, express our opinion that Mr. Montefiore's cheerfulness, like that of Mark Tapley, derives the whole of its merit from its difficulty.

We pass from the question of our Lord's miracles to that of His mission and His claims. Here Mr. Montefiore's attitude is one of greater hesitation. He says, on the



one hand, that 'the personal note, the sense of personal importance and personal authority . . . was an undoubted characteristic of Jesus,—and a characteristic, moreover, in which he differs from his prophetic predecessors,' and holds that it belonged to Him chiefly 'in virtue of his belief that he was or would be the Messiah.' But when our Lord's claims go beyond this, he not only dislikes them, but endeavours to throw doubt upon the fact that they were actually made. Thus he finds the exclusive claims in St. Matthew xi 26, 27 'painful'; he hardly thinks it possible that Jesus would have set His teaching in contrast with that of the Decalogue; he asserts—very truly—that the words: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them,' could only have been used 'by some one who believed that he was a divine, though not necessarily the divine being.' The most he will allow is that

'Jesus formed and continued to hold the belief that to the kingdom, which was imminent, he himself stood, or would stand, in some important personal relation. He was more than a prophet and would occupy some office or post in the kingdom of great significance or worth.'

But then, if this be all which our Lord really claimed, the question immediately arises how it was that from the first the Church claimed so much more for Him. The fact that the Church did so is not denied for a moment, nor can it be. 'With his death,' says Mr. Montefiore,

'the whole perspective changed. . . . If Jesus preached the Kingdom, his followers preached *him*. As Loisy says: "What the apostles began to preach was not the story of the Christ, still less a system of doctrine, a scheme of teaching drawn up and fixed by him, nor was it the proclamation of the Kingdom of Heaven as Jesus himself had formulated it up to the very day before his death. . . . Instead of first of all, believing in the Kingdom which had not yet come, one had to believe in the Messiah who *had* come."'

This, then, is not in dispute, and the question at once arises, 'How are we to explain it?' Now this question

Mr. Montefiore makes no real attempt to answer. The actual witness of the Gospels is explained by the after-belief of the Church, and the belief of the Church is explained by—what ?

‘The sublime figure of the Christ, portrayed to us by the first three Evangelists, was; in a certain sense, created by the Church. But if in turn we ask what was the moral and religious power by which the Church was created, only one answer is possible: it was the personality of Jesus, his faith, his truth, his love.’

So says Dr. Carpenter.

‘The spirit of Jesus continued to live in the earliest community, and it was the community which not only created the Gospel about him, but also developed his moral teaching upon the basis which he had laid down.’

So says Wellhausen. Most true, of course, if we believe with St. Paul that in all that the Apostolic Church taught about our Lord, it had ‘the mind of Christ’ Himself. But how does this suggestion help us, if the mind of the Church was inconsistent with His? What we have to explain is not development upon the old lines, but the substitution for our Lord’s teaching of something entirely inconsistent with it. If the Church placed our Lord in a position which He never claimed and would have repudiated, and preached a Gospel which He never authorized, it acted in despite of His Spirit, and not under His inspiration, and what is the explanation of its doing so? The faith of Jesus will not explain a faith which He did not share, nor the truth of Jesus a message inconsistent with truth. It is useless, in face of this difficulty, to speak of ‘the inventive genius of Paul.’ St. Paul stood in this matter exactly where the rest of the Christian community stood. In all the controversy which arose between him and the Christians of Jerusalem, we find no word of difference as to the Person of our Lord or as to His Gospel either. The controversy turned upon the position of St. Paul, not upon that of his Master, upon the necessity of the Law, and not upon the necessity of our Lord’s Atonement. Was there no one among all the



crowds who had known and listened to the Lord to protest against the revolutionary teaching given in His Name? Apparently, there was no one. Up to the moment of our Lord's Death, Christian teaching meant one thing; from the moment of His Death, it meant another. And the change was brought about by His Death, and by what was supposed—on the ground of 'subjective' visions—to have happened to Him after it. And the Christian Church was agreed about it, preached the new message with entire confidence and authority, and was apparently unconscious of the revolution which had taken place! Could anything be more impossible? The Resurrection of the Lord, whatever else it did, must certainly have confirmed our Lord's followers in their belief of what He Himself had taught. It would have been about the last thing in the world to lead them to revolutionize His teaching.

Here we must leave Mr. Montefiore, and his favourite critics also. But there is just one point more upon which it may be well to touch, and that is the prospects of that union of Liberal Judaism and Unitarian Christianity which Mr. Montefiore seems to think possible. The suggestion seems only thrown out in a tentative way, and has perhaps attracted more attention than its author would himself have claimed for it. But Matthew Arnold, if we remember rightly, once suggested that on the Person of Christ Christians and Jews might one day find themselves at one, and Mr. Montefiore's own agreement with the conclusions of the extreme critical school lends plausibility to the suggestion. We fear that we cannot ourselves be very sanguine as to its chances of fruitfulness. How, in the first place, is any closer union to be attained between Jews and other theists than they have attained already? Will they find in the future more than in the past 'that they differ in name, in accent and in memories rather than essentially or dogmatically'? Surely all that is best in modern Judaism is bound up with its national hopes,—bound up with the conviction, expressed by Mr. Montefiore himself in his sermons<sup>1</sup> on 'The Witnesses of God' and 'The Essentials of Judaism,'

<sup>1</sup> *Truth in Religion and other Sermons*, sermons 17 and 19:

that God has given to the Jews a great task as a nation to perform, and that only by maintaining their national integrity can they hope to perform it.

‘ God spoke, and gave us the word to keep :  
Bade never fold the hands nor sleep  
’Mid a faithless world—at watch and ward,  
Till Christ at the end relieve our guard.  
By his servant Moses the watch was set ;  
Though near upon cock-crow we keep it yet.’

‘ The Jews,’ as Mr. Montefiore says in his commentary, ‘ have ever to realize that they have received the consecration of supremest suffering, and that they still remain the hunted, hated, wounded, but deathless witnesses of God.’ But then, we fear, the Liberal Protestantism, with which he feels his kinship, will never share this conviction ; indeed, it will have less sympathy with it than Catholic Christianity. What the Jews as a nation can do for the religion of the world, such Liberals hold to have been done already, and done through the medium of Christianity. If their boasted progress has led them back in so many things to the Jewish standpoint, they have not owed this to the Jews. They cannot join in a national worship, nor live by a national hope. As far as we see, the Jews have nothing to give to Unitarian Christians and Unitarian Christians nothing to give to them. But suppose that the union should take place, what chance would such a religion possess to grow and spread in the modern world ? Whence is to come the enthusiasm and the missionary spirit which alone could drive it forward ? The whole tendency of the ultra-critical spirit is to damp down the fires. When modern ‘ liberal ’ Christianity contrasts itself with the Christianity of the Catholic creeds, it may like to think of itself as a young and vigorous movement with the future before it. But its vigour seems to be almost wholly intellectual. It is not the followers of Wellhausen and Johannes Weiss who are living and dying for Christ in the heathen world, nor are the devoted missionaries of the Roman Church spreading the new light of M. Loisy. And is it otherwise with the Jews ? Are the



Jews missionary? 'I look around and ask myself,'<sup>1</sup> says Mr. Montefiore:

'Is English Judaism capable and willing and likely to take part in this work? Is it free enough, is it clear enough? Are its eyes enough open, its ears enough alert? I deeply regret, for my part, to be compelled to believe that the answer to this question can only be in the negative.'

But this surely is only what is to be expected. 'An ultra-liberalism in a historic religion like Christianity,' says Dr. Forsyth—and his words are equally true of Judaism—'has always this danger, that it advances so far from its base as to be cut off from supplies and spiritually starved into surrender to the world.' The strength of Judaism in the past has rested upon its belief in great historic acts of God, in 'the mighty hand and the stretched out arm' that brought its fathers out of Egypt, and revealed to them God's redeeming grace, just as the strength of historic Christianity has rested upon its belief in the grand redeeming acts of the Incarnation and the Atonement. Explain these away, and what becomes of the historic religions which rest upon them? If God has never interposed to save, if Israel is as other nations, and the Christ as other men, if we are to conclude with the critics that

'the odd is gone,  
And there is nothing left remarkable  
Beneath the visiting moon,'

we may indeed sadly acquiesce in that conclusion, but we shall not set about to reform the world by a missionary religion. We Christians have a better hope for ourselves, and for that noblest of the nations to which Mr. Montefiore belongs. Taught by the great teacher, who so sternly criticized and so greatly loved Israel after the flesh, we look forward to the day when 'all Israel shall be saved,' and 'if the casting away of them is the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?' Centuries may pass before the dawn of that

<sup>1</sup> *Truth in Religion and other Sermons*, p. 36.

great day; we Christians have greatly sinned against the Jews, and we cannot undo in a little space the necessary result of long ages of cruelty and oppression. But they, we are sure, need our Christ, not just as one among many teachers, but as the one source of redemption and of full spiritual life, and our Christ needs them; He, like His Church, is not His full Catholic self without them. He needs them as thinkers, and as workers also, needs them to deliver us from the fetters of Greek forms of thought, and to commend Him and His Gospel to the world.

H. L. GOUDGE.

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ART. II.—DR. SANDAY'S 'CHRISTOLOGIES  
ANCIENT AND MODERN.'

1. *Christologies Ancient and Modern.* By WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Lady Margaret Professor, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Hon. Fellow of Exeter College; Fellow of the British Academy; Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1910.)
2. *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede.* By ALBERT SCHWEITZER, Privatdozent in New Testament Studies in the University of Strassburg. Translated by W. MONTGOMERY, B.A., B.D. With a Preface by F. C. BURKITT, M.A., D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. (London: A. and C. Black. 1910.)
3. *The Self-Revelation of our Lord.* By J. C. V. DURELL, B.D., Rector of Rotherhithe; late Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1910.)

DR. SANDAY in the preface to his new book tells us of his hope that it is 'the last of the preliminary studies' to 'the larger task . . . of writing, or attempting to write,



what is commonly called a Life of Christ.' It consists of eight lectures—five delivered in 1909 and three delivered in 1910—and the substance of a University sermon in which part of a paper read at the Swansea Church Congress of 1909 has been incorporated. The preface contains a statement—so clearly expressed and of so great importance that it may well be quoted at length—of the position which underlies all Dr. Sanday's writings, and not least the present work.

'In the last resort the key to the position is that there is a God in heaven, who really shapes our ends, roughhew them how we will. I believe that in His hand is the whole course of human history, and especially the history of those who deliberately seek His guidance. I therefore trace His influence in the ultimate decisions, the fundamental decisions, of the Church of the Fathers; and it is to me incredible that He should intend the course of modern development to issue in direct opposition to them. If I find my own thought leading me into such opposition, I at once begin to suspect that there is something wrong, and I retrace my steps and begin again. On the other hand, I am well aware that I must not play fast and loose with criticism; I believe that it must be looked fairly in the face, and that we must assimilate its results as best we can. Here, too, I quite admit that, if I can be shown to be wrong, I have also no choice but to retrace my steps and begin again. Of course the difficulty is to make these two processes meet. But, so far as my experience goes, I have never found the results of the two processes finally conflicting.'

Of the lectures, the first two are on 'Ancient Christologies,' the third on the Christological writings, largely German, of the nineteenth century, the fourth and fifth on the two types of Christologies which Dr. Sanday describes as 'reduced Christianity' and 'full Christianity,' the sixth on the 'presuppositions of a modern Christology,' the seventh and eighth on some positive suggestions of Dr. Sanday's own which he calls 'a tentative modern Christology' and on 'the present position.' The University sermon which completes the book is entitled 'The Guiding Principle of Symbolism': it carries further the subject of the essay on 'the Symbolism of the Bible' in Dr. Sanday's

*The Life of Christ in Recent Research*; and he speaks of it as presenting 'an *apologia* for the whole position of which' his 'writings are the outcome.'

## I.

In his third lecture—that entitled 'Modern Christologies'—Dr. Sanday refers to the discussions in regard to the Kenotic Theory which took place in England during the years 1889-99; and in classifying some of the writings on the subject alludes to 'the steady opposition' to any idea of Kenosis which 'was maintained all through the period by *The Church Quarterly Review*.'<sup>1</sup> At that time the discussions gathered round the position taken up by the present Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Gore, in his essay in *Lux Mundi*, his Bampton Lectures of 1891 on *The Incarnation of the Son of God*, and his *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*; and they arose from a matter of Biblical criticism. It was inevitable that the conclusions reached by an important and influential school of critics concerning the authorship of some Old Testament writings should bring up questions as to the inferences to be drawn from our Lord's use of the Hebrew Scriptures. At the centre of the pressure were questions relating to the authorship of Psalm cx. Here was an instance of a psalm which many highly competent critics declared to be by a writer other than David. Yet in our Lord's conversation with the Pharisees on the descent of the Messiah He implied, or at least argued on the assumption, that David was the author of the psalm. In view of this circumstance and others connected with it, Dr. Gore developed and maintained with great skill and courage and persistence a theory concerning our Lord's knowledge which seemed to him both to be well supported in itself and to solve the difficulty presented by one element in our Lord's teaching to those who were accepting the conclusions of very much Old

<sup>1</sup> Nearly, but not quite, all the articles in the *Church Quarterly Review* which Dr. Sanday mentions were by the present writer.



Testament criticism. To the most whole-hearted affirmation of the infallibility as well as the deity of our Lord he joined the assertion of widely extending ignorance during our Lord's mortal life. Our Lord, it was contended, was ignorant on many such questions as the authorship of Old Testament books. This ignorance was not to be limited merely to the operations of His human mind; rather, it was experienced by the divine Person of the eternal Son of God; and the explanation of it was to be found in an abandonment of divine knowledge by that Person within the sphere of the Incarnation. Thus an actual ignorance on the part of the divine and infallible Lord might make it possible for Him without any unreality to use the type of Jonah if the history of Jonah were not literally true, to illustrate His meaning from the account of Noah though that account were a myth and not a record of fact, and to argue on the assumption of the Davidic authorship of Psalm cx even if that psalm were not the work of David. The surrender by the Son of God of the physical attributes of divine knowledge and power within the sphere of the Incarnation was made the basis of an assurance to devout Christians that they need feel no disquiet if a way of regarding the Old Testament very different from that which in the past had ordinarily been held should be seen to be necessitated. On the other hand, it was maintained in the series of articles in this *Review* to which reference has been made, that the acceptance of even that most moderate form of the Kenotic Theory which Dr. Gore was prepared to allow rested on minimizing the indications of supernatural knowledge shewn in the Gospels, exaggerating suggestions of ignorance in the same books, an inadequate idea of the results necessarily involved in the truth of the one divine Person of our Lord and in the essential nature of divine knowledge, and an undue disregard for the belief which had been usual in the continuous tradition of the Church. So far as the particular origin and centre of these former discussions is concerned, what was a matter of great distress then does not press greatly now. In such questions as that of the bearing on our

Lord's authority of the inquiry whether David wrote Psalm cx., different persons have found their own widely varying solutions of any difficulty which there may be, and are content to leave the matter there. But, though the ground has changed, the consideration of our Lord's knowledge as it bears on His authority as a Teacher and on His deity is not less urgent to-day than it was twenty years ago.

## II.

At the present time the centre of pressure is in what has come to be known as the eschatological discourse.<sup>1</sup> A writer so convinced of our Lord's deity, and at so great pains to express his belief, as Mr. J. M. Thompson has written, 'He thought that the present world was coming to an end in a few years'<sup>2</sup>; and in Father Tyrrell's posthumous work, *Christianity at the Cross-roads*, it is said of our Lord:

'His eschatology was just that of the Jewish apocalypics, with the difference that He Himself was destined to be the Son of Man. The Son of Man was a superhuman heavenly being, the ruler of a supernatural Kingdom of God, that was to descend upon earth and take the place of the present order of things. . . . The Kingdom of God was not to be realised by any gradual development of the present order, but by an irruption of the supernatural order. . . . Of the nearness of the final catastrophe He was convinced, His own advent into the world was guarantee for that.'<sup>3</sup>

These two quotations from very different writers may be taken as illustrating how large a place is filled in the thought of the day by the idea that our Lord regarded the kingdom of God as a divine rule on earth to be begun in the near future through the break-up of the existing order of the

<sup>1</sup> St. Matt. xxiv, xxv; St. Mark xiii; St. Luke xxi.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Thompson, *Jesus according to St. Mark*, p. 139. For Mr. Thompson's expression of belief in our Lord's deity, see the very remarkable passage on pp. 275-79.

<sup>3</sup> G. Tyrrell, *Christianity at the Cross-roads*, pp. 47, 48.

world. A powerful exposition of this idea may be seen in Dr. Albert Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, the English translation of which under the title of *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* has been placed at the head of this article. The idea itself is not new. It is found, as Dr. Schweitzer shews us, in the manuscript writings of Hermann Samuel Reimarus, who died in 1768. It reappears as a complete theory in the work of Johannes Weiss (published in 1892) entitled *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, of which Dr. Schweitzer says that 'every sentence is a vindication, a rehabilitation, of Reimarus as an historical thinker.' Certain approximations to it have been frequent enough. But only of late has it been of wide and powerful influence as a systematic and consistent explanation of our Lord's life and teaching. The significance—for the purpose of the present article—of Dr. Schweitzer's book is in the advocacy of this idea. Simply as a record of research and as explaining the various standpoints of different writers about our Lord during the century which it covers, the book would have interest and value. The descriptions of the many books referred to are vivid and illuminating, and shew great power of bringing out what is distinctive and noteworthy. To give but one instance, the account of Renan's *La Vie de Jésus* is most brilliant both in penetration of thought and in vigour of expression. But the point of the book is the complete application of the eschatological solution to the whole of our Lord's life and work. Our Lord is regarded as having accepted the Jewish conception of the kingdom of God, especially as developed in the apocalyptic literature, as having based everything which He said and did on this conception, as having looked forward to the speedy establishment of this kingdom with Himself as its centre. In uncompromising language Dr. Schweitzer rejects any different view.

'The Jesus of Nazareth who came forward publicly as the Messiah, who preached the ethic of the Kingdom of God, who founded the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth, and died to give His work its final consecration, never had any existence.



He is a figure designed by rationalism, endowed with life by liberalism, and clothed by modern theology in an historical garb.'

On the contrary, our Lord's belief in His Messiahship was a carefully hidden secret until Judas betrayed it to the high priest and so brought about His death; the coming of the kingdom of heaven was the establishment of a new order on earth to which our Lord looked forward, but which He never attained; the sufferings which our Lord anticipated for Himself and His disciples were part of the great Messianic woes through which this kingdom was to receive its birth.

At the present time it is through the criticism of the New Testament that the difficulties for Christian thought have arisen; and they are gathered round a theory that our Lord's life and teaching rested on, and derived their meaning from, a confident anticipation which was never to be fulfilled.

### III.

It may be noted in passing that there is very much in the Gospels to excite suspicion about the eschatological explanation of our Lord's life and teaching which for the moment is so widely influential. In the first place, not a little forcing of the narrative is needed if each act and word is to be fitted into this single line of thought. Even the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount, for instance, which some have thought to receive an explanation otherwise denied them if our Lord contemplated not the life of the Christian Church in the world but an immediate apocalyptic kingdom, are really, when reasonably interpreted as vivid and picturesque illustrations of principles, applicable to Christian life in the conditions of the present time. And, secondly, there are indications of a very different line of thought than that which it is thus sought to make exclusive. The warning, 'Of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither

the Son, but the Father,'<sup>1</sup> is not fully allowed for when it is understood to mean simply that, though the hour is close at hand, the exact moment is as yet unrevealed. The allusion to many possible times when the lord of the house may come, 'ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrowing, or in the morning,'<sup>2</sup> in like manner does not suggest that all which is unrevealed is the precise time of an event which at any rate is very near. The words, 'Can the sons of the bride-chamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them? as long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast. But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then will they fast in that day,'<sup>3</sup> viewed in their context are much more in accordance with a dispensation marked by the want of the visible presence of the bridegroom than with a merely momentary absence ushering in the apocalyptic kingdom of His visible rule. The comparison of the kingdom of God to a state of things in which 'the earth beareth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear,' as a preparatory stage to the time when 'the fruit is ripe' and 'the harvest is come,' distinctly suggests such a dispensation, and does not suggest an immediate apocalyptic kingdom.<sup>4</sup> This element, thus found in the Second Gospel, is more strongly emphasized in the First. The expressions, 'while the bridegroom tarried,'<sup>5</sup> 'our lamps are going out,'<sup>6</sup> 'after a long time the lord of those servants cometh,'<sup>7</sup> 'if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord tarrieth, . . . the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not,'<sup>8</sup> all point towards a period during which the administration of the Church is going on as a distinct dispensation of God. The mixture of good and bad within the kingdom indicated by the parables of the tares and the fish,<sup>9</sup> the patient waiting

<sup>1</sup> St. Mark xiii 32; *cf.* St. Matt. xxiv 36.      <sup>2</sup> St. Mark xiii 35.

<sup>3</sup> St. Mark ii 19, 20.

<sup>4</sup> St. Mark iv 26-29.

<sup>5</sup> St. Matt. xxv 5.

<sup>6</sup> St. Matt. xxv 8.

<sup>7</sup> St. Matt. xxv 19.

<sup>8</sup> St. Matt. xxiv 48-50.

<sup>9</sup> St. Matt. xiii 24-30, 36-43, 47-50.

whereby both tares and wheat are left to 'grow together until the harvest,'<sup>1</sup> the natural inference from these parables that the kingdom itself is a sphere of probation, the building of a Church which shall be a mark for the forces of evil,<sup>2</sup> the existence within that Church of powers of legislation and rule,<sup>3</sup> are all similar indications.<sup>4</sup> As a matter of critical interpretation, the eschatological explanation is by no means satisfactory. While the interpretation that our Lord contemplated and founded a Church to be a sphere of probation and preparation, that this Church was to be the kingdom of God on earth and to pass into the future heavenly kingdom, that He anticipated two distinct crises of judgement, the first at the destruction of Jerusalem, marking the complete establishment of the Church which was Christian and no longer Jewish, the second at the Day of Judgement at the end of the probation and preparation within the earthly Church, that He transformed the apocalyptic conception of the kingdom by bringing out the inner meaning and not adopting the outward shape of the thought, is not without its difficulties, yet it is as a whole and on a complete view of the Gospels much more satisfying than that to which Dr. Schweitzer has given powerful and eloquent expression. And it may be noticed that Mr. Durell, in his very careful and candid book *The Self-Revelation of our Lord*, writes:

'Two great catastrophic events were in the mind of Jesus. There was first a temporal and local judgment, the destruction of Jerusalem; and beyond this there was the universal judgment at the last day. It would seem that the impending fall of Jerusalem loomed so large in the minds of the hearers of Jesus as to destroy the true sense of perspective and to lead them in some measure to confuse the one judgment with the other. At

<sup>1</sup> St. Matt. xiii 30.

<sup>2</sup> St. Matt. xvi 18.

<sup>3</sup> St. Matt. xvi 19; xviii 18.

<sup>4</sup> For a careful statement on different elements in our Lord's teaching about the kingdom of heaven ('present,' 'near future,' 'more distant future') see W. Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, pp. 80, 81 (also in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 620): cf. the present writer's *The Christian Church*, pp. 32-51.



all events, the eschatological discourses, as recorded by the Synoptists, do not clearly distinguish between what was said as to the fall of Jerusalem and the sayings relating to the last judgment.'

#### IV.

The object of the present article is to consider, not critical details, such as have just been glanced at, but the theological question of our Lord's consciousness during His mortal life. Reference has already been made to Dr. Gore's earnest attempt twenty years ago to lessen the perplexity felt by many in regard to the bearing of Old Testament criticism on our Lord's authority and deity by using a limited form of the Kenotic Theory. Dr. Sanday's *Christologies Ancient and Modern* contains a not dissimilar attempt to be reassuring in view of present difficulties about the New Testament. The most important part of the book consists of the sixth and seventh and eighth lectures. Dr. Sanday here calls attention to recent investigations in psychology. It is not indeed altogether a new thing that importance should be attached to the unconscious and semi-conscious states of the mind. The term 'unconscious cerebration' has been in use for some sixty years, and thirty years ago a familiar idea in some circles was that of the effect which unconscious activities of the brain might have on conscious thought and on action. But in the last twenty-five years, and especially in the last ten, far more attention has been directed to, and far more importance has been ascribed to, this department of psychology. And a new factor has been introduced by the clear distinction, largely due to the late Mr. F. W. H. Myers and widely popularized by Professor William James,<sup>1</sup> between the 'supraliminal' or 'conscious' 'self' and the 'subliminal' or 'subconscious' 'self.' This distinction is utilized by Dr. Sanday. He describes this new factor in the following terms :

'Besides the upper region of consciousness there is a lower

<sup>1</sup> The above sentence was written before the death of Professor James on August 26, 1910.

region into which the conscious mind cannot enter. It cannot enter, and yet it possesses a strange magnetic power by which the contents of the lower region are as it were drawn upwards and brought within the range of its cognition. This lower region is a storehouse of experiences of the most varied kinds, in fact of all the experiences that make up human life. It is filled with images left by the senses—not only with the images of sights and sounds, but with those left by the other more restricted senses of touch and taste and smell. Not only is the lower region of which I speak filled with these to an extent that seems incredible—it seems incredible that room can anywhere be found within this little organism of ours for the endless multitude of sensible impressions—but, in addition to these and intermingled with them, there are the more complex experiences of past thought and past emotion. In some form or other they must be there, and from this inner cornucopia one never knows what will come forth—whether it will be weighty memories of the greater shocks of life, its deepest tragedies and its highest joys, or whether it will be things the most trivial and insignificant. And—most wonderful of all—these impressions, experiences, inferences, principles, which so crowd and jostle each other down below, are not so many passive and disconnected items (like dried peas in a bottle), but they are endowed with an active power of combining and recombining, of modifying and being modified, so that when they come up to the surface again it is often in quite different shapes from those in which they sank beneath it. All these things are latent. The door of that treasure-house, which is also a workshop, is locked, so far as the conscious personality is concerned. . . . And yet, in some strange way, there seem to be open chinks and crevices through which there is a constant coming and going, denizens or manufactured products of the lower world returning to the upper air of consciousness and once more entering into the train and sequence of what we call active life, though indeed the invisible processes of this life are just as active as the visible. It appears to be the function of the subconscious and unconscious states to *feed* the conscious. There is that continual movement from below upwards of which I have been speaking. A never-ending train of images, memories, and ideas keeps emerging into the light. But only in part are they subject to the will and conscious reason. Only in part do they come *at call*. And only in part do they come in fully organized form. . . . The lower region corresponds to the upper in not being all of one moral colour.

It contains the same potentialities of good and bad. If the dominant impulses and influences in conscious thought and life are good, then the dominant impulses and influences in the unconscious state will be good also; and vice versa. The under-world is a repetition or reflexion of the upper-world. In the one, less not than in the other, character is moulded. And, though the processes are not seen and cannot be followed, their results appear in the conscious responsible acts and thoughts of the waking man. The wonderful thing is that, while the unconscious and subconscious processes are (generally speaking) similar in kind to the conscious, they surpass them in degree. They are subtler, intenser, further-reaching, more penetrating. It is something more than a mere metaphor when we describe the sub- and unconscious states as more "profound." It is in these states, or through them, that miracles are wrought—especially those connected with personality. They doubtless played the largest part in the historical miracles of the Gospels, just as they are to this day most active in what we are still inclined to call miracles, the more successful examples of efforts that often fall short of success,

The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,  
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky.'

From this recognition of the existence and importance of the subliminal or unconscious state of the self Dr. Sanday goes on to consider 'mysticism,' meaning by 'mysticism' 'the belief in the union of man with God,' and by 'Christian mysticism' 'the union of the human spirit with the Spirit of Christ, who is also the Spirit of God.' Any closer definition of 'Christian mysticism' or sharper presentation of what 'the union of the Christian with Christ' means is of special difficulty because of the inadequacy of the metaphors which must be used. The union is 'of spirit with spirit'; 'and yet we are compelled to describe it in terms that are taken from matter and from space.' It is 'of person with person'; 'and yet we hardly know—in any case we cannot assume—how far union is possible between person and person.' Hence the conception of personality is closely bound up with the idea of union. Dr. Sanday is inclined to question the notion that 'personality represents a point beyond which analysis cannot be carried.' He notes that



the view held until recently that the atom is 'an ultimate unit in the material world' is now discredited by our present knowledge that 'what used to be called an atom' is 'made up of an immense number of much smaller units called electrons'; and suggests the possibility that the old view of personality as 'an ultimate unit in the spiritual world,' 'of person as not less impervious and impenetrable than the material atom,' may have to be abandoned in like manner. This suggestion, with its bearing on the union of the Christian with Christ, is brought into relation with the assertions previously made in regard to the subliminal or subconscious self.

'The deepest truth of mysticism, and of the states of which we have been speaking as mystical, belongs not so much to the upper region of consciousness—the region of symptoms, manifestations, effects—as to the lower region of the unconscious. The roots of that of which we are conscious strike down deep into the unconscious. It is there that the forces are generated which enter into our conscious and active lives.'

And in this unconscious region is the unseen work of the Holy Ghost as distinct from His seen fruits.

'The work of the Holy Spirit, the true and proper work, the active divine influence brought to bear upon the soul, does belong to this lower region. It is subliminal, not supraliminal. We know it only by its effects.'

'The subliminal region is as it were divided into zones.' In the upper zones are the more simple processes, and the processes which are nearer to the ordinary experiences of life. In them 'are stored the simple impressions of outward objects, the record of remembered facts, the outlines of past events.' Their contents have a more easy approach to the conscious being than the contents of the lower zones, and 'are recalled to consciousness with more or less of the vividness and intensity, but in very much the same guise in which they vanished below the horizon of consciousness.' Different from these 'surface impressions' are 'the deeper storage of thoughts and emotions and the deposits of past thought and emotion.' The 'mental states in which'

' these more permanent and grouped phenomena ' ' inhere ' ' are alive and active, and their activity is communicated to their contents.' Between the ' deposits left by vital experience ' ' there is a constant play as it were of electricity passing and repassing.' Hence is the formation of ' all the deeper and more permanent constituents of character and motive.' And in these same lower strata of the subconscious region ' whatever there is of divine in the soul of man passes into the roots of his being.' Therefore, ' the proper<sup>1</sup> seat or *locus* of all divine indwelling, or divine action upon the human soul, is the subliminal consciousness.'

It is, then, in the subconscious region that the saint and the mystic have that inner life of union with Christ in God, the results of which may appear in outward acts, but which cannot itself be discovered by any process of direct inspection. Dr. Sanday applies what he thus holds about the conscious and subconscious regions of human being to the incarnate Christ.

' On the one hand, we think of the human consciousness of the Lord as entirely human ; we make no attempt to divide it up and fence off one part of it as human and another part as divine. Whatever there was of divine in Him, on its way to outward expression whether in speech or act, passed through, and could not but pass through, the restricting and restraining medium of human consciousness. This consciousness was, as it were, the narrow neck through which alone the divine could come to expression. This involves that only so much of the divine could be expressed as was capable of expression within the forms of humanity. We accept this conclusion unreservedly, and have no wish to tamper with it. The Life of our Lord, so far as it was visible, was a strictly human life ; He was, as the Creeds teach, " very Man " ; there is nothing to prevent us from speaking of this human life of His just as we should speak of the life of one of ourselves. Over this we can shake hands with

<sup>1</sup> On the word ' proper ' Dr. Sanday adds a very important note : ' Some stress is laid upon " proper," for which I might almost have written " primary." I do not of course mean to deny that this divine element makes itself felt, and at times directly felt, in consciousness. But it seems to *come up* (as it were) unto consciousness, as if from some lower and deeper sphere.'

those continental theologians who insist on taking the humanity of our Lord in real earnest, and as no mere matter of form. But, on the other hand, we no less emphatically refuse to rule out or ignore or explain away the evidence which the Gospels and the rest of the New Testament afford that this human life was, in its deepest roots, directly continuous with the life of God Himself.'

'The mystery of the relation of the Son to the Father stretches beyond our ken. The Deity which rules the universe is in the last resort the same Deity which took human flesh. So much I believe; and that belief seems to me enough to connect the faith of the patristic age with our own.'

Returning to the analogy in the consciousness of ordinary human beings, Dr. Sanday points out that, while 'a certain proportion of the hidden contents of human nature enter into consciousness, and through consciousness find expression,' that which remains unexpressed has also to be taken into account. And that which thus remains unexpressed may be of supreme importance. The poets are full of teaching which may be paraphrased in the language of present-day philosophy by saying that 'the unconscious processes of cerebration are richer and more productive than the conscious; the subliminal activities of the human mind are subtler and more various than the supraliminal.' As the 'divine in man' has 'its abiding-place and home' in the 'deep, dim regions' of the subconscious soul, so in the divine Person of our Lord these regions were the seat of deity. Moreover, 'the deepest movements of the human mind cannot be read upon the dial' of the 'upper consciousness'; 'they can only indicate their presence, and through some faint symbol or other hint at their nature.' Here, too, the analogy is instructive about our Lord.

'Our Lord Jesus Christ, when He became Incarnate, assumed such a disability as this. He could not—by His own deliberate act of self-restraint He could not—wear His Deity (as it were) upon His sleeve. He knew that the condition which He was assuming permitted only degrees of self-manifestation. He knowingly condemned Himself, if the phrase may be allowed, to that inadequate expression of which I have spoken. But just as



in the man the whole Self, conscious, subconscious, and infra-conscious, is indefinitely larger than the conscious Self taken alone, so even in our Lord the manifested Life was only, as it were, an index to the total Life of which the visible activities were but a relatively small portion.'

Dr. Sanday proceeds to picture the working of our Lord's consciousness. In outward appearance His life was like that of any other contemporary Galilean. He had the same ordinary functions and feelings of body and soul. In Him impressions and emotions were stored up by the same processes as in ourselves. His mind utilized its memories; and in Him 'character was formed' out of elements that were 'physical, rational, moral, and spiritual.' In Him, as in us, it was the work of conscience to discriminate between right and wrong; and 'in His case it invariably chose the right and eschewed the wrong.' Gradually came the 'consciousness of mission'; and 'the mind of our Lord singled out for itself by degrees' the terms of 'Messiah, Son of Man, Son (*i.e.* of God).' Pondering on Himself as Son of God and Messiah and Son of Man, 'He knew—every Israelite knew—that in Him all the nations of the earth were to be blessed.' Such blessing was to come through the kingdom of heaven; and 'to bring about the coming of that kingdom' was 'His chief mission.' Gradually He came to see how the kingdom was to come. It was to be not 'from a throne,' but 'from a cross.' The 'meaning became clear to Him when He thought of the Servant of Jehovah in the latter part of Isaiah.' Yet, notwithstanding the suffering, the prophecies of blessing were to be fulfilled. So, the question had to be asked, How will the fulfilment take place?

'When that question came to be asked *How?* our sources leave us in some ambiguity. The solution that lay nearest at hand was that of the Jewish Apocalypses. And it would be very natural and very probable that our Lord would at least at times have recourse to this solution; He would express Himself in the familiar language; and His disciples were evidently allowed to fall back to a large extent upon that language. But the Apocalyptic teaching itself branched off in two main directions.

There was the part to be played by the Messiah Himself as King and as Judge. But another characteristic of the Last Days was to be the great outpouring of the Spirit, conspicuously foretold by the prophet Joel. As a matter of fact the Church witnessed such an outpouring. A new and a powerful influence took up the work begun by the Incarnation—took it up so promptly and so continuously that to writers like St. Paul and St. John it seemed to be the Incarnate Himself still at work through His Spirit. Already in St. Luke's evangelical narrative (Luke xxiv 49, *cf.* Acts i 4, 8) this further working is represented as predicted by Jesus. How did Jesus Himself think of it? I conceive that here, if anywhere—here, most of all—that subliminal consciousness of His, to which I have been referring, came into play. We speak of a "reserve of power" in ordinary men, *i.e.* of *latent* powers that from time to time, on great occasions, assert themselves in them. With Jesus, these latent powers had throughout His life been more abundant and nearer at hand than with others. It was they which gave an extraordinary aspect to the whole of His ministry. It was they which fed His consciousness as Messiah and as Son. He had never made any parade of them. He had treated them with a certain irony, rather minimizing their presence than magnifying it. It was with Him as it has been with the saints of all ages—that which they had of deepest and most divine has never been obtruded upon the public gaze, but rather hidden away out of sight and known only by its fruits. But now that the end was nigh, now that the moment of release from the burden of the flesh was all but come, I do not doubt that the Lord felt these latent powers, so steadily restrained and so sparingly used, surging up within Him, gathering all their forces for an outbreak, crowding, as it were, towards the exit and ready to burst out upon the world. Still the human thought and tongue even of Jesus—and it was only through human thought and human speech that even He could communicate with His disciples who were also His brethren—could only express themselves in terms of current meaning, could only express themselves with that inadequacy and relativity of utterance which attaches to all that is human. The language of Apocalypse, in one or other of its forms, was almost the only language available. What applies to language applies also to thought; and I can well believe that in the human thought, as well as in the language, of Jesus there was an element that was vague, approximate, and undetermined.'

If we understand him rightly, Dr. Sanday holds that the divine Person of the Son of God retained unimpaired His divine knowledge as well as all His other attributes and powers ; that this divine knowledge, during the time of His mortal life, was resident in that subliminal or subconscious region which is the seat of the divine in man, that to become available for the purposes of His human work it had to pass from the subconscious into the conscious region ; and that, as thus made part of His conscious human thought and as expressed in speech, it of necessity shared in the restrictions and limitations which are inherent in human consciousness and language. Part of the language thus available for His purposes was the language of Apocalypse ; and any inadequacy and relativity in this language was an inevitable element in the instrument which from the nature of the case it was necessary to employ at the time when our Lord taught during His ministry on earth.

## V.

The value and the distinction of Dr. Sanday's book need no lengthened commendation. It is marked by the earnest and devout spirit, the reverent temper, the wide and accurate knowledge, the sympathetic insight, the gentle consideration for those who feel difficulties of opposite kinds, which readers have learnt to associate with his work. Before passing on to some more general topics and to a point in which Dr. Sanday's use of recent psychology has much attraction for the present writer, it may be well to mention three criticisms which seem to call for attention.

The first of these criticisms is in regard to the psychology itself. The study of the subliminal or subconscious region is in its infancy. There are large groups of facts to which recent investigations have called attention. The theories which Dr. Sanday accepts supply up to a certain point a plausible explanation of many of these facts. They give a student the impression that they are moving in the right direction, and that they are likely eventually to lead



towards light on much which is now obscure. Certainly, no examination of consciousness or thought would be justified in leaving them out of account. Yet at present the whole study is too new, too tentative, too unverified, too uncertain for any very great confidence to be felt in a use made of it by theology. No praise can be too high for Dr. Sanday's courage in acting as a pioneer. It may well be that results of the greatest value are destined to come from what he has so thoughtfully expressed. But in the psychological foundation there is a speculative element which suggests to the theologian the need of caution as well as enterprise.

If the psychology in general be accepted, there is still a point in Dr. Sanday's use of it which seems to need fuller proof than he has given; and it is a point of vital importance to the position which he adopts. 'The proper seat,' he says, 'of all divine indwelling, or divine action upon the human soul, is the subliminal consciousness'; and, though 'this divine element makes itself felt, and at times directly felt, in consciousness,' yet 'it seems to come up (as it were) unto consciousness, as from some lower and deeper sphere.' This proposition concerning the 'proper seat' 'of all divine indwelling' necessarily underlies the whole of Dr. Sanday's position in regard to our Lord. Here, again, the suggestion is in harmony with many facts, and has in it vast possibilities of hopeful and helpful thought. But, is it sufficiently clearly made out, does it supply strong enough ground, for it to be confidently made a basis of theological belief? Students of theology may be deeply grateful to Dr. Sanday for the suggestion itself and also for the arguments by which he supports it, and yet may rightly hesitate to view it as other than most tentative.

Thirdly, in the course of a passage already quoted at length, Dr. Sanday says, with reference to our Lord, 'there is nothing to prevent us from speaking of this human life of His just as we should speak of the life of one of ourselves.' This particular sentence might have a meaning somewhat beyond the truth which it is intended—as cannot be doubted, when it is remembered who has written it—to express.

Catholic theology and the events recorded in the New Testament alike insist that the Lord's human life was completely human. But there are facts which result from His divine Person which do introduce a modification of some aspects of His human life. One of the most important of these facts is mentioned by Dr. Sanday when he says that the conscience of our Lord 'invariably chose the right and eschewed the wrong.' And parallel to this fact concerning the work of our Lord's conscience there is a fact of no less importance in regard to the operations of His intellect. In all that concerns the incarnate life, a sentence of Dr. Mozley's deserves the most constant remembrance and the fullest consideration.

'The doctrine of our Lord's divinity modifies the truths connected with His humanity in this way, that He who was both God and Man cannot be thought of even as man exactly the same as if He were not God.'<sup>1</sup>

## VI.

In any discussion of a line of thought intended to meet needs of a particular moment it is necessary to pay attention to the permanent elements of the Christian faith.

The thought of the Church and the demands of Christian intellect and life have not outgrown the splendid theology in which the councils of the first five centuries expressed the ideas of apostolic teaching as recorded in the New Testament and protected the practical fruitfulness of the Incarnation. It is as needful to-day as it ever was that, if the New Testament presentation of Christ is to be realized and understood, and if He is to be recognized as Saviour and Example, He be declared as really God, manifesting in human life what God is; as completely Man, possessing and using all properly human powers and characteristics of body and mind and soul and spirit; as one Person; so that all the acts and sufferings of His mortal life are the acts and

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Mozley, *A Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*, p. 93.

sufferings of the eternal Son of God ; and as having for ever His two natures of Godhead and Manhood, so that He is abidingly and eternally what He was when visibly on earth. No one of these four parts of the doctrine of the Incarnation has become obsolete. Each one of them is essential if Christ is to be to ourselves and our descendants what He was to the apostles, what He has been to the historic Church. And, unless the purpose of the Incarnation is to be frustrated, it is essential also that no one of them be understood in such a way as might conflict with the completeness of the Lord's work as Teacher and Example and Redeemer and the Bestower of union with God.

At the present time it is perhaps the doctrine of the One Person of Christ which most needs emphasizing among the four great facts which the Church has declared to be bound up with the truth of the Incarnation. Terminologies and philosophies change with the course of years ; but the fact which the Council of Ephesus meant to express, and did express, is of lasting value. If our Lord Jesus Christ were a deified man and not personally the eternal Son of God, He would fail alike to reveal God and to redeem man. If there were a division in His being so that the separate acts were of separate persons and not all of the One Person who is incarnate God, His life and work would be robbed of the significance which belongs to them, because all that is divine and all that is human is of Him who, being both God and Man, is in His two natures One. And it is not without importance that this very fact of Christ's One Person has been of special influence in some who have been considering the bearing of Biblical criticism on Christian belief. One of the most impressive features of the Bampton Lectures for 1891 was Dr. Gore's evident sense, shewn throughout the book, that, whatever might be the right solution of some difficulties, the doctrine of Christ's One Person must not be left out. A recent writer, whose work has chiefly been to lay stress on the external aspects and the obvious meanings of our Lord's life, has vigorously said :

' Jesus is a single Person, who as a whole lives a single life, and as a whole can be worshipped as divine. There is no possible



or desirable division between what is human in Him and what is divine. The human in Him is divine. When He is most truly man, then He is most truly God.' <sup>1</sup>

The unity of Christ's Person must not be so held as to cause forgetfulness of the corresponding truth affirmed by the Council of Chalcedon. As it is needful for the meaning and effect of the Christian religion that Christ be One, so the permanent reality of His Godhead and the permanent completeness of His Manhood are also essential. The Council of Chalcedon has not always been fairly treated by its critics. It has been accused sometimes of making Christ two instead of One, sometimes of acquiescing in a mere juxtaposition of the two natures that fails to be rational. English writers have made statements in regard to it as unjust as Dr. Schweitzer's sentence, 'When at Chalcedon the West overcame the East, its doctrine of the two natures dissolved the unity of the Person, and thereby cut off the last possibility of a return to the historical Jesus.' As a matter of fact, the Council of Chalcedon was as careful to preserve the doctrine of the One Person of Christ as it was to maintain the abiding reality of His two natures. This is plain enough in the dogmatic decree of the Council, <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Thompson, *Jesus according to St. Mark*, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Council of Chalcedon, Sess. V. ; 'Since those who attempt to do away with the preaching of the truth devised vain expressions through their own heresies, some indeed daring to corrupt the mystery of the Lord's Incarnation for us and rejecting the application of the phrase Mother of God (τὴν θεοτόκον φωνήν) to the Virgin, others bringing in confusion and mixture and irrationally imagining one nature of the flesh and of the deity and madly declaring that the divine nature of the Only-begotten became passible through the mixture, therefore this holy and great and Oecumenical Council . . . decrees that the faith of the 318 holy fathers remains inviolate, and ratifies the doctrine afterwards delivered by the 150 holy fathers. . . . On account of those who attempt to corrupt the mystery of the Incarnation, shamefully insulting Him who was born of the Holy Mary and saying that He was mere man, the Council has accepted as valid the conciliar letters of Blessed Cyril . . . to Nestorius and the Easterns for the overthrow of the Nestorian madness, . . . and has added to them the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo,

and it may be seen also in the *Tome* of St. Leo.<sup>1</sup> The charge of acquiescing in mere juxtaposition has often been exaggerated; and, so far as it is well founded, it is not damaging.

which was written to Archbishop Flavian of holy memory for the destruction of the Eutychian error, as agreeing with the confession of Great Peter and being a kind of common pillar against the perverse, for the confirmation of the orthodox dogmas. . . . Following the holy fathers, we all teach with one accord one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, perfect in Godhead and perfect also in Manhood, really God and also really Man, being of a reasonable soul and body, of one essence with the Father as touching His Godhead, and also of one essence with us as touching His Manhood, being like unto us in all things except sin, begotten of the Father before all times according to His Godhead, and also in the last days born for our sake, and because of our salvation, of Mary the Virgin, the Mother of God (τῆς θεοτόκου), according to His Manhood, one and the same Christ, the Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged of two natures, without confusion, without change, without rending, without separation, while the distinction of the natures is in no way destroyed because of the union, but rather the peculiarity of each nature is preserved and concurs into one Person and one Hypostasis (εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν), not separated or divided into two persons (εἰς δύο πρόσωπα) but one and the same Son and Only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ' (Hardouin, *Concilia*, ii. 453-56).

<sup>1</sup> St. Leo, *Ep.* xxviii. 4, 5: 'He who is very God is also very Man; and there is no illusion in this union, while the lowliness of man and the loftiness of Godhead meet together. . . . Each form does that which is proper to it in communion with the other (*Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est*), the Word, that is, performing what belongs to the Word, and the flesh accomplishing what belongs to the flesh. . . . As the Word does not withdraw from equality with the Father in glory, so the flesh does not abandon the nature of our kind. For, as we must often say, He is one and the same, really Son of God and really Son of Man. . . . Although in the Lord Jesus Christ there is one Person of God and Man, yet that whereby contumely attaches to both (*in utroque communis*) is one thing, and that whereby glory attaches to both (*communis*) is another. . . . On account of this unity of Person which is to be understood as existing in both natures we read on the one hand that the Son of Man came down from heaven . . .; and on the other hand the Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried.' Cf. *Ep.* cxxiv. 7; 'There is one Lord Jesus

There is very much in the Christian religion as to which two truths have to be placed side by side, while progress in co-relating them can be neither quick nor easy. A famous passage in Dr. Mozley's article on 'The Theory of Development' shewed that in regard to the Incarnation itself the claims of logic may easily be pushed too far.<sup>1</sup> Concerning other doctrines, there has often been loss through refusing to acquiesce in juxtaposition. There may have been some gain, but there has been loss too, when theologians have endeavoured to form a theory of the Eucharist which has gone beyond the assertions that the consecrated elements are bread and wine and yet the Body and Blood of the Lord, or to devise explanations how the deity is one God and yet three Persons, or to suggest methods of reconciling the free will of man and the supremacy of Almighty God. In these instances, while one theory or another may have its use at particular times and in particular circumstances, it is the preservation of the two truths which supplement one another which is the matter of real and permanent importance.

A corollary of the completeness of Christ's Manhood is the really human character of His mind and its operations. As being human, it has the limitations which are essential to humanity. So much may, in the abstract, be confidently said. But it is not easy to form any conception of what those essential limitations are. For the human mind of Christ was itself in a condition which is beyond our experience. Minds as we know them have received by inheritance or by will; or by both, the touch of sin. We can have no real idea of what the powers of a human mind which has been in no way affected by the darkening and

Christ, and in Him there is one and the same Person of real Godhead and real Manhood, neither can the firmness of this union be separated by any division. . . . The Godhead and the Manhood are joined into so close a union from the very conception by the Virgin that neither can the divine acts be performed without the manhood nor the human acts without the deity (*ut nec sine homine divina, nec sine Deo agerentur humana*).'

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Mozley, *The Theory of Development*, pp. 41-44.



disturbing consequences of sin may be. It is natural to expect that they are greater than we can easily realize. And the sinless human mind of the Lord was in personal union with God.

The knowledge possessed by the Son of God in His eternal being was divine knowledge. That is to say, it has qualities pertaining to deity which transcend our human understanding. For there are differences between human knowledge and divine knowledge as to methods of perception and extent of scope and powers of penetration. Human knowledge is continually affected by time; and continually varies in amount. In divine knowledge there is no such thing as before and after, or as less and more. Is it not a contradiction in terms to speak of an abandonment or a surrender of divine knowledge? Every form of the Kenotic Theory, including that most restrained and restricted and reverent form in which it was so powerfully advocated by Dr. Gore, has always seemed to the present writer to lack the qualities of a helpful clue because it left out of account what divine knowledge really is. Throughout the Lord's incarnate life He remained personally God. Can He have abandoned His divine knowledge any more than He can have ceased to be what He had always been?

## VII.

There are, then, permanent elements in Christian belief which are the abiding inheritance of the Church. They include the decisions of the first four Oecumenical Councils in regard to the Incarnation. The Lord's real Godhead, complete Manhood, personal Unity, distinct natures, remain as essential parts of the Catholic faith. Beyond these decisions and those corollaries from them, which supplied the work of the later Oecumenical Councils, there are many matters which the believing Christian may rightly regard as open questions. Granted that the Lord is God and Man in one Person, with all that pertains to Godhead and all that belongs to Manhood, many ways of regarding the relations between His divine and His human knowledge,

many conceptions of the state which marked His human mind, may be viewed as possibilities. Theories concerning His consciousness may have their advantages as they protect or make clearer or give practical effect to matters of vital truth, or as they render easier the dispersion of clouds and the removal of difficulties. They have disadvantages if they become a hindrance instead of a help, or if an authority is claimed for them which can be rightly claimed only for the truths which they concern.

The present writer, following for the most part the main lines of the patristic and scholastic theology, is accustomed to think of our Lord's consciousness during His mortal life in some such way as this. As the divine Person of the Son of God He was in continuous possession of the divine knowledge which is an inherent attribute of God, distinct from the divine nature itself rather to human apprehension than in reality. As completely Man but untouched by sin, He had a human mind subject to all limitations in which human nature, by virtue of its essential being as distinct from its state as impaired by sin, is necessarily involved. This human mind, growing as the Man Christ Jesus grew, may well have gone from strength to strength in intellectual power, as His sanctity went from strength to strength in moral force, and as His acceptance with the Father reached from height to height while He passed continuously from one spotlessly holy stage of life to another spotlessly holy stage beyond it. 'Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.'<sup>1</sup> In this growth of the human mind it might receive from the unimpaired divine knowledge of the Lord whatever at each fresh stage it was capable of receiving.<sup>2</sup> By a

<sup>1</sup> St. Luke ii 52, Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτεν ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώποις.

<sup>2</sup> It is to some extent parallel that our Lord's human will could, to whatever extent each occasion needed, call into active operation the forces of divine power which were always possessed but ordinarily latent. But there are important differences between questions relating to power and questions relating to knowledge which arise from the nature of consciousness.

process which might be called translation the human mind would transmute into human knowledge, and so make available for the Lord's use in His incarnate mortal life whatever it was thus able to receive. Without such a process of translation divine knowledge could have no more meaning in a human mind than the words of a language to one to whom that language is not known. But who is to say what the capacities of receiving and translating were to the human mind of Him who is God ?

To those who so regard the consciousness of Christ; much in Dr. Sanday's suggestions may be highly attractive. To the present writer they have come as casting a new light on the notions about our Lord's knowledge which have long seemed to him to be most satisfying in view of the New Testament evidence and the teaching of Catholic writers and the demands of theology. If our Lord's divine knowledge was always resident in Him while on earth, and was continuously made available in His human mind for the purposes of His mortal life by a process of translation, this process might reasonably be identical with the passage of thought from the sub-conscious to the conscious, from the subliminal to the supraliminal.

Dr. Sanday's suggestions in regard to the consciousness of our Lord's incarnate life in its mortal state have, then, a fascination, in view of the psychology of to-day, not unlike the fascination which the theory of Transubstantiation in the Eucharist had for the schoolmen in view of the philosophy of their time. That theory seemed to account for two widely different facts, the one supernatural, the other natural ; it seemed to solve difficulties which pressed hardly on Christian minds ; it utilized the philosophy which was influential ; it held out hope of a rational foundation for Christian belief and a consecration of intellect as well as a devotion of heart ; it followed lines of explanation which had deep roots in the past. The theory of Transubstantiation may have done much during the Middle Ages for thought and belief and practice. There are those who tell us that it has not yet spent its force.

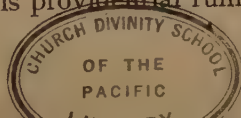


But it is at least a tenable opinion for a student of history that a time came when the theory was an obstacle and a hindrance rather than a help ; and it can hardly be doubted that the theory became practically identified with the doctrine which it was designed to protect.

The comparison thus suggested may be instructive. The psychology of to-day may supply its help for the solution of permanent problems in the form which they for the moment have taken. That help may be real and valuable for the present time. Each age needs, and each age ought to supply, its own apology for the faith which it receives from the past. Nothing but good ought to result from the making and discussing in a reverent spirit of suggestions such as those which Dr. Sanday has put forth. Only it is part of that reverent spirit to remember that theories, however plausible, however satisfying, however fruitful, are but ways of realizing and presenting the truth and not the truth itself ; and that it may be as dangerous to knit them too closely into the Christian system as it is to reject them without adequate thought.

## VIII.

But the most significant fact of all in Dr. Sanday's book is the conviction which underlies it. For it is the work of one who has used high faculties with unsparing toil and with constant watchfulness for light from any quarter. So eager has he been not to miss anything of moment that some of his friends have even regretted the time and space which he has given to the record of other men's investigations and views. And the result may be seen from the passage in the preface of his book which was quoted at the beginning of this article. He remains convinced of the value which attaches to 'the ultimate decisions, the fundamental decisions, of the Church of the Fathers,' and also that the right use of criticism must eventually lead to truth. For him this is the form which, as regards these matters, belief in God and His providential ruling takes. The same



conviction finds expression also in a remarkable passage with which the book ends :

'If we believe that the world is one, and that the whole course of history is one, the working out of a single divine purpose, coherent and continuous in all its parts—whether we are able to see the coherence and continuity or not ; if we have this fixed belief in our minds, then the process will not be really so difficult as it may appear. It will doubtless contain gaps—abundance of gaps ; it is not to be expected that any one individual, under present conditions, should be able to work out an absolutely consistent theory of the universe from beginning to end. But the great thing is that the main outlines are marked out for us ; if we come to a gap, we know why it is a gap ; and we also know that it is sure to be filled up in time. But all that we need is patience ; and faith is the mother of patience. If we once have an assured hold on God in Christ, all the rest will come, when and as He wills. The clue that guides us through this mighty maze is the principle of continuity. But, once more, we have to remember that this continuity is not mechanical. What we have to look for, and what we may expect to find, is not any rigid and formal identity of expression ; it is an identity not of the letter but of the spirit. In other words, the continuous thread that we hold in our hands is *truth to type*, the genuine Christian type, manifested at sundry times and in divers manners, but preserving throughout its essential oneness and its essential harmony.'

There will, of course, be differences of opinion concerning what is necessarily involved in 'the ultimate decisions, the fundamental decisions, of the Church of the Fathers,' concerning many details about the right use of criticism, and what 'the principle of continuity' and 'truth to type' of necessity require. It is possible that some of Dr. Sanday's phrases do not mean quite the same to him as the corresponding expressions 'preservation of type,' 'continuity of principles,' 'power of assimilation,' 'logical sequence,' 'anticipation of the future,' 'conservative action on the past,' 'chronic vigour,' meant to Cardinal Newman.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 169-442 (1878 edition).

There may be differences, again, about the extent to which an 'identity of expression' may be necessary at this or at that time, in this or in that matter, to preserve 'identity of the spirit.' The general notions expounded leave plenty of room for the discussion of details. The present writer is not sure that he would be able to follow Dr. Sanday in all that might emerge in such a discussion; and he does not wish here to enter upon it. It is preferable to lay stress on the reassuring influence which *Christologies Ancient and Modern* ought to exercise powerfully on those who are troubled and perplexed in regard to the questions with which it deals, and to thank the distinguished author for the service which he has endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, to render to the cause of truth.

DARWELL STONE.

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#### ART. III.—THE WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

1. *Report of the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh, 1910.* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. 1910.)
2. *Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions.* Compiled by Sub-Committees of Commission I. 'On Carrying the Gospel to all the non-Christian World.' (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. 1910.)
3. *A History of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta.* By GEORGE LONGRIDGE. New edition with an additional chapter down to 1909. (London: A. R. Mowbray and Co., Ltd. 1910.)
4. *Foreign Missions. A Study of some Principles and Methods.* By R. H. MALDEN. (Longmans, Green, and Co. 1910.)
5. *The New Horoscope of Missions.* By JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1909.)
6. *The Expansion of Christianity.* By Mrs. ASHLEY CARUS-WILSON. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1910.)



7. *Western Women in Eastern Lands.* By HELEN BARRETT MONTGOMERY. (New York and London: The Macmillan Co. 1910.)
8. *Crusades of the Twentieth Century. An Introduction to Work among Muhammadans.* By the Rev. W. A. RICE, M.A. (London: Church Missionary Society. 1910.)

SPECIAL emergencies, great crises have in past ages led to the summoning of the Oecumenical Councils of the Church. It was the sense of a unique opportunity, of a tremendous need that brought together the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh. At the present moment there seems to lie before the Church an opportunity, in the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 'almost limitless, urgent, clamorous,' an opportunity such as past ages have never seen of bringing the world to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. To meet such an opportunity fully would tax all the resources, all the devotion of an undivided Church, and we stand before it miserably conscious of the inadequacy and impotence which follows not only from our lack of faith and from the coldness of our devotion, but from what is perhaps in itself the cause of these, a Church torn and rent asunder. The recognition of the greatness of the opportunity, of the immense possibilities that lie before us, and of the necessity for some better equipment if we were to use them, led those who were working at what they could not but feel to be the same task to desire to come together for conference, that they might consult as to the way in which that task could be fulfilled. Some have long cherished the hope that the unity for which we pray might come to us from the mission field. Now it would seem that the recognition of the call of the present moment has brought the spirit of unity amongst us, and has made possible a Conference at which men and women belonging to many different religious bodies, and many different nationalities, met together and faced together the call which has come to Christ's Church.

The Edinburgh Conference could not have the authority of an Oecumenical Council. It had behind it no ecclesiastical

organization, and it made no attempt at any authoritative decisions. No resolutions were passed at its meetings, every one was free to express his own opinion, and had no need to feel himself compromised by the opinions of others. But men and women in the sense of a common work and a common opportunity met together in the name of Jesus Christ, and once more felt that His promise was fulfilled and that it was the presence of the Holy Spirit alone that made possible the true harmony that characterized the meetings of the Conference, in spite of the frank recognition of so many different points of view.

Amongst the many causes which give the present moment its unique character probably the most important is the wonderful awakening in the East, which seems to date from the time when, through a successful war, Japan sprang into the position of a world-power. There followed that strange stirring which made the great empire of China, an empire containing one-fourth of the human race, which had seemed on the very verge of dissolution, shake itself like a giant awaking from sleep and bestir itself to bring about changes so great that 'twenty years ago no human being could have imagined the situation in China to-day.' These changes can only be described as bewildering. The educational system which has been in force for nearly two thousand years has been abandoned, the examination halls are falling to ruin, and education is being reorganized according to Western ideas. Throughout the whole of Asia a similar ferment is in process, and with the growth of education and civilization the non-Christian religions are losing their hold on the educated classes, from whence spring the leaders in the new movements. The empire of Turkey is going through a similar period of change and development. It is these changes, this plastic condition of the non-Christian nations, that are the opportunity of the Church. As a Chinese professor from Peking said at Edinburgh: 'The people of China are now giving away the old, but they have not yet grasped the new. The minds of the Chinese are now empty, and this is the time for Christ to step in. If you wait four or five, or even three years, you

will find such a change in China that the minds of her people will be blocked.' The question for us Christians is whether the new civilization which is to shape these nations of the East shall be merely materialistic and rationalistic, or whether we will make the effort and the sacrifice needed to ensure that it shall be permeated by the spirit of Christ, and that the leaders of the forward movement shall recognize from the first that it is righteousness alone that exalteth a nation. From all sides comes the testimony that the next few years will be years of supreme importance for the answering of this question.

In Africa, though for different reasons, the moment is equally urgent. There, two forces, Christianity and Mahomedanism are contending for the possession of the country, and it would appear as if Mahomedanism were the more active. It comes to the natives as a higher religion than their own, seeming to bring with it progress and the entrance into a more advanced civilization, yet it does not bring with it the burden of a strict moral code, neither does it interfere with polygamy and other heathen customs. The opening up of Africa, the cessation, in part at least, of tribal wars under the administration of European governments, has facilitated the Mahomedan advance. Rapidly and continuously all over the continent the native races are being absorbed into Islam; once won by Islam the difficulties in the way of Christian missions are infinitely increased. The fact that Mahomedanism is at this moment an aggressive power can be recognized everywhere. In India there is a renaissance of Islam, preachers are working hard to convert the low-caste and out-caste people, those very people who are ready, as whole communities, to become Christians wherever teachers are sent to them. At the same time opposition to Christianity as a Western religion has led in many parts of the East to a sort of revival also among other non-Christian religions, which are attempting to adapt themselves to modern conditions. We hear of Young Men's and Young Women's Buddhist Associations, of Buddhist Sunday Schools and mission preaching, of Hindu tract societies and many other imitations of Christian activities.



Further, together with the stirring of the new spirit of nationality, the non-Christian nations are realizing that knowledge is power, and are everywhere determined to have education. The government systems of education in China, Japan, and India are absolutely secular; the same plan is being followed in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia. The new education undermines the old ancestral religions, and we have to face the fact that, in all those non-Christian countries which have introduced modern education, the young generation are growing up without their old faith, while at the same time often definitely hostile to Christianity as Western and foreign, and so as a natural result drift into agnosticism and materialism. Hence the urgent need to strengthen and improve the educational work of all our missions, a need which was most strongly demonstrated at the Pan-Anglican Congress.

Whilst in these and many other directions the need of the world for the Gospel is so clearly seen, the opportunities for carrying the Gospel to all the world are greater than they have ever been. The splendid Roman roads and the facilities for communication throughout the Roman Empire made St. Paul's missionary journeys possible, and now the great network of railways which covers the world, and which is being daily extended, makes it easy to journey to every part of the earth. Unknown countries have been explored, the whole world has been made accessible, and the large majority of the countries of the world are ruled either by Christian governments or by governments which are not hostile to Christian missions. But the world that lies open to Christian missionaries lies open also to all the corrupting influences of civilization. It is not only the frequently immoral influence of the trader and the 'globe-trotter' that has to be dreaded, but also the spread of corrupt materialistic and atheistic literature. As a Korean speaker, the Hon. T. H. Yun, one of the most striking personalities at the Conference, said: 'The East is invaded by anti-Christian philosophies from Europe, philosophies made in some lecture-rooms in Europe, which need more fresh air than philosophy.' Again, the facilities for travel, the desire for

education, bring thousands of oriental students to Europe and America, where they are only too easily exposed to the most demoralizing sides of Western life. But even this danger is an opportunity, for it brings foreign missionary work to our very doors, into the parishes of our university towns, and makes it possible for those at home, by bringing the best youth of the non-Christian nations to Christ, to prepare the way for winning the nations themselves.

The remarkable movement towards Christianity to be seen in so many nations is another of the causes of the urgency of the present moment. It would seem as if the long years of toil and devotion since the first beginnings of the modern missionary movement were at last being allowed to bear fruit. From most of the mission fields we hear of real and often surprising progress. The hostility towards Christianity has largely disappeared. The Bishop of Lahore tells us that 'there has been a gradual conversion of the attitude of the people toward Christianity.' In Japan, in spite of special difficulties, the past ten years have been the most fruitful in results ever known. The same is true of Africa. But nowhere has the advance been so remarkable as in Korea, where it seems as if the whole nation were being moved by the Holy Spirit, and it is probable that, if only the work can be maintained, Korea may be the first non-Christian nation evangelized by modern missions.

These and many other causes combine to create the exceptional character of the present moment, and it was the recognition of these wonderful opportunities, and the great responsibility that they involve, which led to the conception of the World Missionary Conference. It was felt by many that the Church of Christ was 'face to face with a new emergency and a changed situation.' This situation must be studied and thought over. The resources available to meet it must be carefully considered, the methods to be employed must be discussed. The idea of the Conference was that it should offer to experts an occasion for deliberation on the results of previous research and study. The plans for preliminary study were carefully made by an International Committee which met in Oxford in 1908.

The introductory volume of the Report does not tell us how this committee was appointed, but its impartial and just spirit will be recognized by all who study the names of those who served on the eight Commissions of twenty members each, which it appointed in order to study the eight subjects which seemed of primary importance. Men and women well known for their work in the cause of foreign missions were chosen to serve on these commissions. It is an encouraging sign that out of the list of nearly 160 names, the names, too, of persons well known to be absorbed in work, chosen for what was to be an exacting and laborious duty, only eleven declined to serve. The Chairmen of the Commissions were in all cases men of mark, including amongst them men of such varied positions as the Bishop of Birmingham, Mr. J. R. Mott, Sir Andrew Fraser, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

The methods of work adopted by the Commissions were alike so far as the broad lines were concerned, though very different in detail. In each case, sets of questions were carefully drafted and sent out to missionaries on the foreign field as well as to mission boards at home and persons of all kinds likely to have knowledge about the special subject to be investigated. A study of these questions alone will give an idea not only of the scope of the inquiry but of the profound importance of the subjects investigated. The answers returned, many hundreds in number, were of intense interest, and provided a mass of information from all parts of the mission field such as had never before been collected. It was then the work of the several Commissions to co-ordinate and sift the information received, and with its aid to prepare the eight reports which were to be presented to the Conference and supply the basis of its discussions for the eight days of its meeting. The hard work of the Commissioners and the excellent organization of the central office enabled these reports to be in the hands of the delegates some weeks before the opening of the Conference, so that all could come prepared to its meetings. It was, of course, impossible to discuss adequately, even at two long sessions, any one of these weighty and lengthy reports, but the discussions



proved an admirable addition to the Reports. Speeches were strictly limited to seven minutes, and the businesslike atmosphere of the Conference was such that the various speakers, some thirty each day, for the most part managed to compress into that short time both valuable information and real thought, sometimes even true eloquence. Of course, far more wished to speak than could be heard, but no one questioned the wisdom and impartiality of the Chairman, Mr. J. R. Mott, who aimed at so selecting the names that the various branches of the subject might in turn be dealt with. Widely different races and nationalities as well as many different religious bodies were represented amongst the speakers, and sometimes the contribution made by the personality of the speaker was more forcible even than that made by his words.

The eight reports, supplemented by the discussions at the Conference, give us information and thought on the missionary problems of the day, considered in their widest sense, of quite unexampled value and interest. They may safely be pronounced to be the most important contribution ever made to missionary literature. The introductory volume, containing a popular account of the origin and the proceedings of the Conference, will, it is to be hoped, tempt many to a study of the more serious matter contained in the Reports themselves. For Anglicans there is much that is humbling both in the study of the Reports and of the proceedings of the Conference. At the Pan-Anglican Congress we were humbled by a sense of the vastness of our responsibilities following on the vast extent of our communion. At Edinburgh we learnt how small was our part in the missionary work of the Church of Christ, how admirable in every respect was the work done by other communions, and how great was their devotion as Churches to the missionary cause. Yet the conviction deepened that in so far as our Church is true to its best traditions, that is, to the teaching of the early Church, it may be able to supply the answer to some of the most pressing problems of the present day in the mission field; since again and again in the efforts after the solution of those problems,

especially with regard to the means to be employed in building up national churches in mission lands, or to the way in which the Christian truth has to be presented to those of other religions, recourse has to be had to lessons learnt from the history of the early Church. But a narrow Anglicanism will destroy our particular message. In emphatic words the Bishop of Birmingham expressed the shock that it had given him to discover that we, as well as the Presbyterian Church, should have felt it necessary to train native pastors and teachers in symbols the origin of which is due to our own historical development, and which are marked with the trace of past controversies, such as the Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster Confession. Humbled by the knowledge of how small a part of the missionary work of the world was done by our Church, in spite of the immense responsibilities of our vast empire, we yet felt increasingly the importance of the contribution we are called to make to that work, if only we can through it see what is vital and fundamental in our own principles, and so aid the other nations in building up for themselves their own national churches, whilst realizing their membership of the Catholic Church. But, as the Bishop of Birmingham reminded the Conference, the more true it is that we Westerners should foster the independence of national churches in other lands, the more important it is that we should have constantly in mind what belongs to the Church everywhere. If we would do this we must first have done more to define what are the essential and Catholic features of the Church. In ancient times there was no marked difficulty in the Church becoming indigenous, because it knew what were its essential principles. He reminded the Conference that in the last fifty years there had been a breaking down of denominational barriers. We do not want to denominalize the young churches, but we must guard against the tendency of Protestantism to drift; something will have to be substituted for its old assertions. Westerners should not attempt to provide definitions for Easterns, but must teach them the necessity that they should make definitions for themselves, and impress upon

them that continuous life depends upon continuous principles. In these weighty words Dr. Gore seemed to suggest that it might perhaps be the special task of the Anglican Church to teach the nations wherein consisted the true continuity of the life of the Church.

The same causes which led to the rapid growth of the many varied heresies of the early Church will be operative in the young churches of the far East. As Mr. Malden, in his interesting 'Study of Foreign Missions,' says: 'It may be predicted with some confidence that before the end of the present century India, China, and possibly Japan, will have become hot-beds of every imaginable form of heresy.' We must not close our ears to the new thought which may come to us from these nations, nor forget how much it may be in their power to add to the fulness of the Christian message, but the value of the doctrine and discipline of a Church with long years of experience behind it will be found when the time comes to test the new ideas to which the revelation of Jesus Christ will give birth in the subtle brains of Indian theologians. Here too our Church may fill its old rôle of the *via media*, and shew that whilst welcoming the new thought it knows and teaches others what is essential in the faith that has come to us from the Saints.

The study of the various Reports demonstrates forcibly, not only the greatness of the special opportunity, but the vastness of the work that is to be done. The careful survey of the mission fields of the world shews how wide are the tracts of country absolutely unoccupied by any missionary force, and makes it clear that, even in those lands where missions are most active, almost every mission is undermanned and starved, so that valuable lives are being wasted in the effort to meet impossible demands, and hopeful opportunities of advance have to be neglected. One of the most pressing questions for missionary leaders is how best to use the forces at their disposal, to make the little force do the large work until the Church at home becomes sufficiently alive to the need to send the increased help so urgently desired.

It is difficult to determine the relative importance of different mission fields, but in spite of the immense claims



of China, the Report expresses strongly its belief in the unique place filled by India, as being the land from which so many religions have emanated, and which therefore must always have so powerful an influence on the religious life of the East. If India can be 'won for Christ, one of the main strongholds of non-Christian forces will be conquered.' It is truly said to be 'the greatest trust given by God to any Christian nation. It is Britain's greatest responsibility; and it is likewise the great opportunity of the Christian Churches of all parts of the world.'

In the consideration of the methods of work, the Reports shew abundantly the fruit borne by a hundred years of missionary experience. For gaining an entry into unoccupied or hostile countries and amongst Moslems everywhere, nothing can compare with medical work. But the importance of educational work in those countries where missions are established is pressed home by every student of missions at the present time. In introducing the Report of the Commission on Education, of which he was Chairman, the Bishop of Birmingham said that the study of the work done had given the Commission a profound impression of the abundant fruit borne by educational missions. To them is due the diffusion of Christian ideals and ideas. It is education which has elevated the out-castes and pariahs in India, a result which has deeply impressed the high-class and hostile Hindus. Statesmen overwhelmed with the problem of how to fuse East and West have stated that missionaries as Christian educators have alone helped to cement the bond. But the growing interest in education everywhere demands that mission schools should keep up a high standard of excellence. Here the development should be intensive rather than extensive. Mission schools must be efficient both educationally and spiritually: it is far better to have no mission schools than to have inefficient ones. No fear of the results of education is displayed. From India the conclusion of the replies to the questions of the Commission is unanimous that 'ignorance, not education, is the cause of the religious prejudice that mingles with the political movement, that more and not less education,

both secular and religious, both higher and lower, is required.' 'The results of missionary education are seen in the creation of an atmosphere in which it is possible for the Church to live and grow.' The great object of missionary education everywhere must be to train leaders for the future, men fit to lead a Christian intellectual movement. It is therefore imperative that missions should not neglect higher education, and should do their utmost to aid in the educational development of China. For the great work that is to be done in this direction we need the best trained educationalists, both men and women, to guide the destinies of nations by helping to train their future leaders, seeing that the object which must be kept prominent in all this educational movement is that it should aid and guide the development of the new national spirit. In the past there has often been a tendency to denationalize converts, to alienate them from the life and sympathies of their fellow countrymen, so as to leave the impression that Christianity is a foreign religion. The Report of the Commission on Education contains a most striking chapter on the lessons to be learnt from the early days of Christianity, when the Christian boys went to the ordinary public schools and learnt side by side with the heathen boys; and it concludes that now too 'it is the ideal method that the Christian converts should with their children continue to share the education and social life of their own race and nation.' Every effort must be made to prevent Christianity from being considered as an exotic religion. From all sides comes the reiterated assertion that religion at least, in all schools whether elementary or higher, should be taught in the vernacular. But more than this, the Christian message must be presented in the form best suited to the oriental spirit. It is here that the pioneer missionaries, often men of great genius as well as of great zeal, have most often failed, and it is here that the great gain of the studies of later years, not only in comparative religion but also in educational methods, is most clearly seen.

Probably never before has the work that may be done in this direction been stated with more force and knowledge

than in the admirable Report of Commission IV on 'The Missionary Message in Relation to non-Christian Religions.' Amongst all the Reports, all most valuable in their various ways, this stands out as of commanding interest and importance, not only in the study of missionary methods, but in the study of religious thought, as well as the means by which truth can be brought before the minds of others. As the missionary studies the religious ideas of those amongst whom he works, he will always discover something upon which he can build, some crying need, expressed perhaps in the crudest form of superstition, which he can satisfy. This Report gives a luminous account of the chief religions of the world, and their points of contact with Christianity as they have been discerned by the most thoughtful missionaries. It shews also where the attractive power of Christianity was most strongly felt by those who afterwards became converts. We are told by one of them, for instance, that 'by far the most striking fact that I have observed is the power of the Sermon on the Mount. In the conversion of almost every great and leading Christian of the North [of India] it was the Sermon on the Mount that gave the impetus.' Another native Indian missionary writes: 'I believe the pure, ideal, ethical picture of Jesus Christ in the Gospels is, to the educated Hindu, the greatest of all attractions to the Faith.' We read also of the lessons learnt by the missionary himself. One writes:

'I think most missionaries come to have a different conception of the meaning of the word "heathen" and of the possibility of God's grace extending more widely than they had previously supposed. At the same time they come to have a truer conception of the helplessness of the world without Christ.'

Another writes:

'My life in the East has taught me the need of simplicity in faith and practice, and I have found myself shedding quite a number of things, which twenty-five years ago I should have considered as being of very vital importance. . . . I have learnt that God has nowhere left Himself without witness, and I am trying to discover that witness here in Japan.'



Again another :

‘ The Catholic side of Christianity (I do not mean its dogma, but its *ethos*) appeals to me now, as it did not in the past, the daily Eucharist hallowing every act of the day and transfiguring all life and nature,—the joys of piercing through the outward as through a veil, into the eternal (which the outward dimly expresses) and finding new visions of Christ there—in one’s Christian friends and students, in one’s Hindu friends and students, in human history, in literature, in art, in nature, all this, and with it the consecration of all these to Christ, to make up His Completeness. . . . I am not so anxious, for instance, to *define* the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, though it is to me more than ever the centre of thought. . . . Again, I now find the *anima Christiana* in Guru Nanak and Tulsi Das and Kabir (according to St. John i. 9) in a way I never did before, and I cannot use the word “heathen” as I used to do. I seem to lay stress on the ethical following of Christ and the practice of the Christ-like, as the supreme criterion, far more than I did in earlier days. . . . I should add that a whole field of the New Testament has been opened to me, and the Book reads like a new book with regard to the great critical question here in India of racial unity within the Church . . . the life struggle of the Apostle Paul for racial unity and brotherhood on terms of equality and freedom, all this has gained a vividness and a colour and glory, which has made the New Testament a new book to me. . . . This root principle of Christianity now dominates my ideas of human society past, present, and future.’

These quotations with their intimate self-revelation will give some idea of the extraordinary interest of this Report and of the teaching it contains for the whole Church. It also points out the need that the missionary, in eastern lands at least, should be familiar with modern criticism and modern thought. Some dwell on the real aid that has come through the higher criticism. Mr. Fraser of Ceylon boldly claims that it is ‘doing a great deal of good in paving the way for the evangelization of the world,’ since it is helping the missionaries to the conception ‘of the Bible as a history of revelation.’ But those who work amongst students in India and Japan should be prepared to meet the difficulties raised by the higher criticism, with which many of the students

are familiar. The missionary must not give the impression that he is 'behind the times with his reading and studies.' In Japan the students talk about modernism and pragmatism; Mahomedan teachers have heard about the 'Babel and Bibel' controversy. But though the need that the missionary should be armed and prepared is strongly brought out, the predominant note from India is the real value of the higher criticism, and the assistance it should be to the teaching of the missionary. The Bishop of Lahore writes:

'The higher criticism has cut the ground from under a large number of shallow objections to Christianity, based upon the scientific or historical inaccuracies of the Old Testament, which have been spread broadcast throughout India by cheap agnostic literature from Europe and America.'

The great lesson of this Report is that 'the attitude of the Christian missionary to the non-Christian religions should be one of true understanding and as far as possible of sympathy. . . . On all hands the merely polemic and iconoclastic attitude is condemned as radically unwise and unjust.' The goal before the missionary is the foundation of a Church in the mission field which shall be truly indigenous, strong enough in time to do without his assistance. The many questions which arise in this connexion are dealt with in another Report. It is clear that in the past the missionaries have not always been sufficiently ready to allow independence to native churches, to place native Christians in positions of responsibility, or to make them feel their own call to be a missionary Church. The Bishop of Lahore writes:

'It is certainly appalling how little of initiative and power for leadership there is, or appears to be, in the native Church at present, and I cannot doubt that this is due, in part at least, to our own reluctance to entrust them with independent charges and put them in a position in which the capacity for leadership can develop itself.'

In some of the newer mission fields, such as Melanesia, Uganda, Manchuria, and Korea, the results of avoiding these mistakes are most striking. Here the Church has from

the first been a missionary Church. The evangelistic zeal of the Christian converts in Manchuria and Korea is especially noticeable. In Korea, having little money to give, the converts pledge themselves to give time to evangelistic work. One man promised at a Conference to give 180 days in the coming year, without any payment, to evangelistic work. At the end of the year he came to express his sorrow that he had only been able to give 169 days. From Manchuria we hear of a man converted in the hospital at Moukden who before his martyrdom by the Boxers had led at least two thousand others to Christianity. The number of the converts in these mission fields is an immense responsibility to the missionary, and in many districts the foreign staff is not even sufficient for the work of supervision. Though the goal must be an independent Church, though the missionary must learn to feel himself an ally and not a leader of the native clergy and teachers in preparation for the time when he will be able altogether to withdraw, he must not fail in sympathy with the special difficulties of the new converts. As Dr. Campbell Gibson reminded the Conference :

‘They stand up to face a heathen world with no tradition behind them, no Christian atmosphere in which they have been bred, no help from heredity. We should not be quick to mark and point out their failures, but quick rather to mark the signs of divine grace in their lives. We hear only too much shallow criticism of the lives of Christian converts, we make too little effort to face their immense difficulties.’

It is a cause for deep thankfulness to read of the testimony from all parts of the mission field ‘as to the character and spiritual fruitfulness of the Christian life’ there. One writing from Japan says that ‘the way in which the Christian life impresses itself on those without is shown by the very reproaches which are levelled against Christians. When a Christian is discovered in dishonesty, it is made a reproach against the community.’ A Presbyterian missionary in South India writes: ‘In course of time the change for the better in the life of the professing village Christians is seen and felt by the non-Christians around,



and the moral and spiritual work of the mission is appreciated.' Of amazing courage shewn under persecution, especially by the Chinese Christians, we have abundant evidence; there indeed the history of the early Church repeats itself.

In the work of building up the Church in the mission field missionaries increasingly feel the need for the provision of 'a Christian literature in the vernacular for devotional purposes, for the broadening and enlightenment of the Christian life, for definite instruction in Christian truth, and for apologetic and polemic.' They affirm that this need is not sufficiently realized by the home authorities, nor often by missionaries themselves. Dr. Timothy Richards maintains that all other departments of missionary work are more active than the literary, and says that when a year ago the Christian missionaries were asked to supply text-books for all the colleges throughout the Chinese empire, they missed this great opportunity for spreading the influence of Christian thought through not having the men able to do the work. Mr. Gairdner of Cairo urges the same need with regard to the Moslem world. For this work co-operation between the different missions would be most desirable, and men specially fitted for it should be set free from other work in order to do it.

Not only in the establishment of an indigenous Church, but probably even more in the pioneer work of missions, are the relations with the different governments of importance. This subject was specially studied by one of the Commissions, and no more delicate subject was discussed by the Conference. Whilst recognizing the disadvantage which may accrue from the neutral attitude of the Indian government, the Report states that 'it is far more than compensated by the disentanglement of religion from politics, of the Christian Church from the British government, of the universal claim of Christ from the temporary ascendancy of any nation.' But strong complaints from the Soudan, Egypt, and Northern Nigeria shew that the British government can hardly be said to act as a neutral power in these countries, and more equal treatment for the Christians as compared

with the Moslems is urgently demanded. In Madagascar the French government, unmindful of French ideals of freedom and progress, deliberately hinders the progress of Christian missions. Speaking generally of the state of things since Africa has been divided up amongst the Powers of Europe it is said :

‘ The primary aim in the annexation of African territory has been the tapping of new sources of wealth and the opening of a larger market to the trade of the world ; and the lamentable fact is that the tendency in the local representatives of these foreign governments, not excepting the British Government (all of them professedly Christian) is to facilitate and encourage the acceptance of the Mohammedan religion, and to restrict, and in some cases to prevent, the propagation of Christianity.’

The Conference made no exaggerated claim to the favour of governments : Mr. Seth Low, who presented the Report, only claimed the right to ask the governments to favour missions as much as they favoured commerce. Wise counsel was given to missionaries with regard to their conduct, and a Swiss missionary from Delagoa Bay shewed the cause from which some difficulties might arise when he warned the British missionaries : ‘ Do not expect everyone to speak your language.’ It was a lesson to the British as to the way in which outsiders may regard them to be reminded of the saying of the veteran Dr. Warneck that the British had changed our Lord’s command into ‘ Go into all the world and teach English to every nation.’ The admirable rules for a missionary given by the venerable Norwegian, Mr. Dahle, are capable of an even wider application :

‘ Do not occupy yourself too much with trifles, keep your influence for great things. Do not be too hasty in your action. If you can wait, things will mend ; officials will find out their mistakes and mend them themselves. Try to settle your difficulty with subordinates without carrying it any further. Should you do so, even if you succeed, you make an enemy of the subordinate. If the matter has to be taken to the higher authority, it must be done by the leader of the Mission. If the leader has to do it, let him look carefully for the right season to speak. Let him act on the supposition of goodwill on the

part of the authorities. There is a polite way of telling a man what he ought to do.'

In the Dutch missions in the East Indies, an interesting experiment is being tried in the appointment of a Missions Consul, who resides at the capital, Batavia, but must always be ready to make the journeys needed to study local difficulties. He advises both the missions and the government as to their relations, and an experienced missionary writes: 'Already one wonders how one ever got on without the Missions Consul.' The German government also appointed twenty years ago a special adviser of the colonial government department with regard to missionary affairs, and all the correspondence between the missionaries and the government goes through his hands. The discussion on this subject closed with these wise words from Lord Balfour of Burleigh: 'Be careful never to make a misstatement or futile accusations. When you are convinced of the truth of an accusation leave the government no peace.'

We have said enough both of the opportunities and of the difficulties of mission work to shew how exacting is the demand made upon missionaries at present. Zeal and devotion are not sufficient: to the harmlessness of the dove must be added the wisdom of the serpent. The general opinion expressed is that the missionary clergy as a body are fully equal if not superior to the home clergy, yet there is practically universal agreement that the intellectual standard is not high enough; and whilst the answers received to the questions issued to missionaries shew that they have been thinking long and deeply on the matters investigated, the Report of the Commission on the Training of Missionaries makes it evident that little has yet been done in any country or by any society to equip them adequately for the great work that lies before them. Not only is the theological training insufficient, but in most cases the training given to both men and women missionaries has to be so largely of the nature of general education or theological and biblical instruction, that there is no time for the special missionary preparation which our knowledge of present missionary



problems and conditions shews to be so important. Many suggestions have been made as to the means for supplying this special preparation. Some propose colleges at home, others colleges in the mission field. For much of the necessary instruction, teaching in language, non-Christian religions and sociology, in educational methods and the history and customs of the different nations, various religious bodies might well combine, both at home and in the mission field. The Report makes no definite recommendations as to the founding of a college for special missionary preparation, but proposes that a Board of Missionary Study should be formed by the co-operation of the leading societies to investigate the existing facilities and to give guidance and advice as to the special preparation of missionaries for their work. If this proposal can take practical shape, the Board of Missionary Study might not only be of real value as an advisory body, but might 'take important and helpful action by organizing teaching in subjects not otherwise provided for,' and might be able, with full knowledge of the situation and its needs, to promote the foundation of colleges for special missionary teaching. The Report expresses the general opinion that as far as possible intending missionaries should not be separated from those who are being trained for work at home. The wider the knowledge and experience of life of the missionary the better. He must mix with other men both for his own sake and for theirs, and through his intercourse with them must increase the general interest in missions. For this is the crying need repeated again and again by the workers in the mission field. If the great work which lies before the Church abroad is to be accomplished, it must be by a revival of the Church at home, by a new spirit of life and devotion. It is not 'simply the spiritual quality of our missionaries that is the crucial point; it is the spiritual quality of the Church which is behind them, the spiritual temper of the great masses of the Christian commonalty.' These Reports are indeed as full of lessons for the Church at home as for the Church in the mission field. When we are told that there is no time to give special missionary preparation to

candidates, because when they go into training 'they need elementary instruction in Bible knowledge and Christian doctrine, as well as training in character development and discipline,' we realize the inadequacy of the religious and moral training of our young people as a whole. Again we are reminded that 'next to a living faith the great want of the age is a living theology.' Study of the great world fields will shew that each of them 'has its own contribution to make to the great world problem, its own suggestion to the Church at home. . . . There is assuredly more in God and in truth and in that Gospel which is the truth of God, than we have yet attained.' In what is perhaps the most striking chapter in all these volumes, the concluding chapter of the Report on the Missionary Message in Relation to non-Christian Religions, we are reminded that

'the whole New Testament literature and much also of the patristic literature is dominated by the missionary aim. The men who wrote . . . were in the heart of a great battle between the living forces of Christianity and the death and life forces of the non-Christian religions of their day.'

Our missionaries are engaged in the same work, and

'it is not too much to say that it is only in the light of their thoughts and experiences that the inner course of the New Testament thought can be disclosed. . . . If we could find the true method it would surely be possible at once to illuminate the New Testament from these modern experiences, and on the other hand to win new counsel and new inspiration from the sacred writings and from the venerable example of the Fathers for the missionary problem of to-day.'

We have to realize what so many forget, that we are a living Church, growing and developing to meet the needs of our own day, just as the early Church had to grow, discerning as the Christian message reaches ever further into the remote corners of the earth, into the dark places of our social systems, more and more of the fulness of Christ, reaching forth into that which is new as we hold fast to that which is old. How strange it seems that we who study with ever-increasing minuteness the life and doings of the

first great missionary, who venerate the memory of the first martyr heroes, should care so little to know about the living history of the Church's progress in our own day, should heed so little the witness of those who, as they gladly give their lives for their faith, teach that the power of the Gospel still prevails. It is very rare, except on the occasions when a regular missionary sermon is preached, to hear any allusion to missionary events, yet few ways are more likely to keep alive interest than the use of missionary allusions in the pulpit. We want to get rid, as Mr. Malden says, 'of the invariable connexion in many people's minds between a missionary and a money box.' Those who are in real touch with mission work will 'continually give to their people the facts of missionary work without any professed treatment of the subject.' But the general conclusion reached by the Report on the Home Base of Missions shews that the ministers of no religious body, except the Moravians, are as a whole 'exercising their full power of leadership in the interest of missions.' Amongst the reasons given for their failure are 'pressure of local work, local financial burdens, lack of the true conception of the contents of the Gospel, timidity, and an improper sense of obligation.' These excuses could not be made if the true place of missions in the work of a living Church were recognized. It does not of course rest only with the clergy. If they are to give the leadership, the laity must do the work. Women have perhaps been hitherto more ready than men to do their share, but they too need to make their work more intelligent, more equal to the present needs. The work that can only be done by women in the mission field demands the services of our very best and most highly educated women, and offers them a quite unexampled sphere of work and influence.

Perhaps at present it is the conception of the social mission of the Church that is the most prominent amongst us, but 'the Church that ceases to be missionary will have forgotten its best mission to the world. If it has no message that it desires to carry to all the world, it will have none for those at its own doors.' Missionary work will only deepen our sense of the need for social work, for we shall



learn that one of the stumbling-blocks in the way of the acceptance of Christianity by the thoughtful Indians and Japanese is the knowledge that our Christianity has not checked the terrible social evils of our civilization. The great cities of the West do not witness to Christ in the eyes of our visitors from the East. The knowledge of how our failure to bring our Christianity to bear upon our social conditions strikes them, may open our eyes to things to which we have grown accustomed, and may help us to make Christ's teaching operative in all departments of our life.

It is ignorance that keeps the ordinary man and woman from a living interest in the whole work of the Church. The efforts made by study unions of various kinds, by the Student Christian Movement and most of the missionary societies, to remove this ignorance are beginning to bear fruit. In the United States and Canada the laymen's missionary movement is a most encouraging sign. The laity may look for inspiration from the clergy, but they must do the work and they must supply the recruits needed for the mission field. The present position, the present call compels us

'to reconsider the whole question of our resources and the possibilities of their development. . . . The question arises and presses for an answer whether at this moment the Church possesses the spiritual resources for the emergency which has so suddenly risen upon her, or whether, like Israel in the days of the prophets, her existing spiritual attainment is not sufficient for the great world emergency which has broken upon her. . . . Duty has led us into extremity, and extremity casts us upon God. The whole course of events is thus leading us back to Him in whom is the absolute revelation of the Father, and through whom alone we can realise that union of God through the Spirit which India has sought with such desperate resolution for three thousand tragic years.'

\* These words of Professor Cairns at the conclusion of Report IV were further emphasized by him when he presented the Report to the Conference and said that, in reading it, we 'looked into the workshop of history and saw something full of promise and yet something formidable, for when man comes to a spiritual situation for which he is not

fit, the result is tragedy.' It is impossible not to feel that one of the chief reasons which must make us doubt our spiritual readiness for this emergency is the divided condition of Christendom. As we face the emergency and the state of the Christian Church at present, we know that what we need is a deep sense of the living God and Jesus Christ. We are flung back on the sources, the origins of our faith.

It was thoughts like these that to those gathered in conference at Edinburgh brought the hope that in facing this emergency we might realize a deeper unity than could yet be expressed in words. No Christian body alone could possibly accomplish the work. There was no room for jealousy of another's work. The work was felt to be one, yet we were grateful that no attempt was made to formulate this unity. Any unity arrived at at Edinburgh must still be a broken unity, could only represent a Church torn and rent asunder in the absence of any representatives of the great communions of the Roman and Eastern Churches. Bishop Brent of the Philippines spoke of the Roman Church sitting apart in aloofness, and said that we must compel them to co-operate with us, but that they will never come to us unless we go to them. He reminded the Conference that the Roman Church was not the Vatican, and that we could so work upon its members that they might work upon the centre. But to do this we must treat Roman Catholics as Christians, in Roman Catholic countries our preaching must always be constructive, not destructive; we must get an intelligent grasp of Roman Catholic methods before we talk about them, we must be careful never to slander Roman Catholics, and must never frame an indictment against a whole Church. These and many other words from other speakers shewed once more, as has often been said, that unity may come to the home Church from the mission field. Difficulties felt at home disappear there where men are forced back to essentials. Necessity brings co-operation there which is not thought of at home. This co-operation, too, is growing in the mission field. Mr. Thomas, a Baptist missionary in Delhi, said that thirty years ago anything like co-operation between his mission and the Cambridge

mission would have been impossible, but that now the two missions meet each week in one another's houses for prayer. The strength of the hostile forces compels union. In China it certainly seems as if unity will come from the Chinese themselves. The difficulties in the way of a united Church of China will not come from the Chinese Christians, who see nothing impossible in union, but from Westerners. Yet even now those who are working in China feel that no denomination is working for itself, but that all are working for the Church of China. They are laying foundations: time and experience will shew how that ideal is to be realized.

The Church at home should not be behind the Church in the mission field in its desire for unity; yet sometimes co-operation abroad is hindered by want of sympathy on the part of societies at home. Associations and conferences of various kinds are being organized with increasing frequency between the different missions abroad, and a missionary writes: 'Much more effect would be given to these attempts at co-operation could all Home Boards and Societies see their way to recommend a full and hearty participation in them on the part of missionaries on the mission field.' The present moment compels common action. As the Report of the Commission on Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity says: 'It is the bounden duty of all who have at heart the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ—of individual workers and of societies alike—to reconsider their aims, their plans, and their methods in the light of the common need.' In many directions co-operation seems specially necessary and to present no real difficulty. What it can do in the matter of Bible translation has been abundantly shewn. It should do much in the preparation of Christian literature in the different vernaculars, in the establishment of training colleges for teachers, or of Christian universities, and language schools, with if necessary hostels for the different denominations. Conference is needed to prevent overlapping, to provide in some cases for the delimitation of mission fields, to consider methods of advance into unoccupied fields, and questions of policy in



the relations with governments. On these points co-operation is as desirable amongst societies at home as it is in the mission field. We cannot wisely do our own work and ignore the work of others. At Edinburgh, as the Bishop of Durham said, we saw 'the supreme impartiality of the divine blessing descending on work done by different religious bodies, yet all done in His name.' We had, in the words of Sir Andrew Fraser, 'the vision of unity before us, indistinct in its outline, perhaps far off, but it has laid hold of our hearts and we cannot let it go.' The atmosphere of the Conference seemed a promise for the future, though its chief lesson to each denomination may have been to go and do its own work better whilst trying to understand and sympathize with the work of others. There was no attempt to ignore differences or treat them as unimportant. Even though all may not have been quite prepared to accept Lord William Cecil's paradox, 'If you want to promote unity cultivate the denominational spirit,' all would probably have agreed with his wise warning against 'imprudent action as likely to check the promotion of unity.' But whilst it was fully recognized that differences could not be ignored, that agreement could not be reached by toning down beliefs into a slender and technical unity, yet neither should we ignore our agreements. As the Bishop of Southwark bade us, we must be loyal both to our unity and to our differences, so that we may work towards a unity which shall be rich and full. The result of the discussion on unity as well as the study of the Report itself was the deepened conviction that the

'supreme need is not for schemes of union. . . . Men are needed with sufficient largeness of mind and breadth of sympathy to understand the point of view of those with whom they co-operate. Most of all, men are needed who have seen, and can lead others to see, the vision of unity. . . . We cannot too often remind ourselves that no large progress either in the unity of the Church or in co-operative effort can be made with our present spiritual conception and capacity. The true path does not lie in treating our differences as unimportant, and impatiently brushing them aside as unworthy hindrances, but in finding through patient

self-discipline a higher point of view which transcends them and in which they are reconciled.'

One small step in the way of united action the Conference was able to take by the unanimous resolution to form a Continuation Committee. This committee, which is international in character, representing nations and the leading religious bodies but not missionary societies, is to carry on some of the lines of investigation and research suggested at the Conference, through the agency of various sub-committees appointed for the purpose. It was felt that more detailed knowledge as to the unoccupied and semi-occupied mission fields of the world was needed, also that the methods of providing special missionary training and the schemes put forward for missionary colleges should be further considered, and that immediate steps for the formation of a Missionary Board of Studies should be taken. For all these purposes committees of the Continuation Committee were appointed. To it too was left the consideration of the important question of the appointment of an international committee with representative authority for dealing with questions concerning the relations of missionaries with governments, and with matters of international importance which concerned all missions. The future alone can shew how far it will be possible for the Continuation Committee to carry on the spirit of the Conference or to translate into action any of its leading ideas.

To have been present at such a Conference, to know of its work, to realize the spiritual power which lies behind it, is a grave responsibility. The Church of England, strongly represented there, not by numbers but by the personality of some of its leaders, has much to learn from it. We have to face the fact that we are not yet a missionary Church, though to us more than to any other Church the supreme call has come because of the position and opportunities of our empire. We are timid in co-operation with others with a timidity which we persuade ourselves comes from our jealousy for the truth, but which outsiders may think, and perhaps not without some cause, comes from narrowness, from ignorance, from want of generous sympathy with the

work of others. Alone we cannot evangelize the world ; we cannot deny the blessing that God has showered upon the labours of others. If now we will only learn to do our share of the great work with more zeal and devotion, with more co-operation and sympathy with others, we shall be able to bring that contribution to the common work which we alone can bring. It may be that we shall be allowed to realize the dream of what has seemed to some our special call, and to act as mediators between the great Protestant forces on the one side and the great ancient Communions of Rome and the Eastern Church on the other. We do not know, we cannot feel that we are worthy. But we may catch perhaps something of the spirit of hope expressed in Mr. Mott's last words to the Conference when he told us that our best days were ahead of us because we had gained a larger knowledge, a larger body of experience, a deeper insight into the character, purposes and resources of our God. But if our Church is to do its utmost, we must remember the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury in his opening address, words which struck those who heard them as touched with prophetic fire :

‘ The place of missions in the life of the Church must be the central place. . . . Secure for that thought its true place, in our plans, our policy, our prayers, and then—why then the issue is His, not ours. But it may well be that if that come true there be some standing here to-night who shall not taste of death till they see the Kingdom of God come with power.’

LOUISE CREIGHTON.

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#### ART. IV.—THE PROSPECTS AND PRINCIPLES OF PRAYER BOOK REVISION.

- I. *Proposed Schedule of Permissible Additions to and Deviations from the Book of Common Prayer.* As drawn up by the Canons Revision Committee of the Consultative Council on Church Legislation in the Episcopal Church

- in Scotland. January 1910. (Edinburgh: R. Grant and Son. 1910.)
2. *The Chronicle of Convocation, being a Record of the Proceedings of the Convocation of Canterbury.* Reports Nos. 416, 428, 449. (London: National Society and S.P.C.K. 1908-1910.)
  3. *Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908. Report.* Seven Volumes. (London: S.P.C.K. 1908.)
  4. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion.* Holden at Lambeth Palace, July 27 to August 5, 1908. *Encyclical Letter of the Bishops, with the Resolutions and Reports.* (London: S.P.C.K. 1908.)
  5. *Unity and Fellowship.* Diocesan Addresses delivered in the year 1909, with three Appendices. By JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury. (London: S.P.C.K. 1910.)
  6. *The Story of the Revision of the Irish Prayer Book.* By the Ven. WILLIAM SHERLOCK, M.A. (Dublin: Church of Ireland Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd. 1910.)
  7. *The Anglican Church in Corea.* By C. J. CORFE, Bishop. (London: Rivingtons. 1906.)
- And other Books and Papers.

[The following articles are published as part of a discussion on the vexed question of Prayer Book Revision.—Ed. C.Q.R.]

## I.

THREE years have passed since there appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* an article entitled 'Prayer-Book Revision—A Plain Man's View,'<sup>1</sup> and in the course of that period much has been done to make clear the way for action, whenever it shall seem advisable and possible to take the action which may be necessary. Hence it is designed in the present article to summarize what has been put forward by various authorities for the consideration of the Church, and to discuss the desirability and necessity of carrying through some measure of revision.

<sup>1</sup> By Dr. Beeching (C.Q.R., Oct. 1907).



And first let us notice the almost illimitable broadening of the horizon through the vast gathering of workers from all parts of the world in the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908. It is true the subject of Prayer Book Revision never came before it formally under that title, but it was inevitably referred to in the discussions on the Church's Missions and on the Anglican Communion. For instance, in the discussion on 'Pastoral Work. The Church Life of the Community,' Bishop Oluwole of Western Equatorial Africa raised the question whether the Prayer Book really edified the people of that land.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Roland Allen, late of the S.P.G. in North China, inquired, 'Why should we give them a complete Prayer Book, which it takes years of Western education to understand? . . . they learn the evil habit of attending church perfunctorily and unintelligently.'<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Melanesia made it clear that it had not yet been attempted to make complete translations of the Prayer Book into the various dialects used in his diocese,<sup>3</sup> and Bishop Johnson of Western Equatorial Africa repeated with greater emphasis the objections stated by Bishop Oluwole.<sup>4</sup> In the discussion on 'Services for Varying Needs,' Earl Nelson thought it would help the unity of the Church if a resolution could be come to by the Lambeth Conference to allow the alternative use of the Communion Service of the American Church and of the Scottish Church.<sup>5</sup> Bishop Awdry of South Tokyo said, 'Native Christians in India, China, and Japan could not understand the Prayer Book.'<sup>6</sup> Mr. Brightman said, 'There are certain defects in the Book of Common Prayer which have been there from the first, or have been imported later, which there is not time further to allude to. These things it is difficult, or it is said to be difficult, for us here to remedy. But the Churches of this Communion are free from at least some of our entanglement, and they might lead the way and convince us here of what ought to be done, and some day we might have the courage to follow.'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Pan-Anglican Congress*, vol. v. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 42.

We have quoted these utterances—and they are not all which might have been quoted <sup>1</sup>—at length to shew the kind of thoughts which had been diffused before the Lambeth Conference began its sessions, and, as its Report shews, a great deal of careful consideration was bestowed upon the Prayer Book. An important paragraph is given to it in the Report of the Committee on Foreign Missions, of which the Bishops of Calcutta, Chota Nagpur, Lahore, Madras, and Tinnevely were members. Eight of the other Bishops who served on this Committee were also members of the Committee on Prayer Book Adaptation and Enrichment,<sup>2</sup> the actual composition of which was: Bishops consecrated to English sees thirteen, to Scottish three, to American six, and to colonial and missionary jurisdictions twenty-four, so that more than half of the Committee were conversant with the needs of our Church overseas. It is important to lay stress on this, as we have often, since the Conference, heard it alleged that there is no demand outside our own island for Prayer Book Revision; whereas not a single portion of the Church overseas failed to join in expressing the necessity for some change to be made.<sup>3</sup> It is important, too, to emphasize the fact that the Committee did not deal in their Report 'with such large questions as those of the Ornaments Rubric, and of the structure and contents of the Prayer of Consecration, because they felt that the time at their disposal was insufficient'; and pointed out 'that the existing divergence of practice in the various Churches of the Anglican Communion, together with Resolution 11B of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Report*, vol. v. pp. 77, 83-4; vol. vii. p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishops who served on both Committees were Bishop Hamlyn and the Bishops of Korea, Mid-China, St. John's, Kaffraria, Sierra Leone, Southern Brazil, South Tokyo, and Zanzibar.

<sup>3</sup> The exact figures are—Australia, 5; Japan, China, and Korea, 5; Canada, 4; S. Africa, 3; West Indies, and Eastern and Western Africa, each 2; Gibraltar, 1. Bishops Anson, Courtney, Hamlyn, Mather, Thornton, and the Bishop (Harmer) of Rochester are reckoned in the provinces for which they were consecrated as Bishops, but even were they reckoned as English the representatives of the home Church would not equal in number those of our Church overseas.

Lambeth Conference of 1888, shew that the use or disuse of [the *Quicumque Vult*] cannot be made one of the terms of communion.' <sup>1</sup> In another connexion also the desirability of Prayer Book Revision was discussed, for the Committee which dealt with the subject of 'Ministries of Healing' recommended additions to the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and in dealing with the unction of the sick did 'not wish to go so far as to advise the prohibition of its use, if it be earnestly desired by the sick person.'

Resolutions on the lines of the Reports of all these three Committees were passed with apparent unanimity by the Conference itself (Nos. 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36), and references were made to them in the Encyclical Letter. But they, for some unaccountable reason, never received much attention from the public; and they were apparently published too late to be used by the Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury which presented a Report on January 22, 1909. It would, however, have been a clear gain, and saved much disappointment and misrepresentation, if this Committee of Convocation could, in addition to their valuable record of the steps taken by the civil authority to facilitate revision, also have quoted the ecclesiastical encouragement given to labours such as theirs in Resolution 27 of the Lambeth Conference. It runs as follows:

'27. In any revision of the Book of Common Prayer which may hereafter be undertaken by competent authority the following principles should be held in view:—

- (a) The adaptation of rubrics in a large number of cases to present customs as generally accepted;
- (b) The omission of parts of the services to obviate repetition or redundancy;
- (c) The framing of additions to the present services in the way of enrichment;
- (d) The fuller provision of alternatives in our forms of public worship;
- (e) The provision for greater elasticity in public worship;

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Lambeth Conference of 1908*, pp. 113, 127, 129.

- (f) The change of words obscure or commonly misunderstood ;
- (g) The revision of the Calendar and Tables prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer.'

It is obvious to anyone who has read the Convocation Committee's Report (No. 428) that its members were considerably hampered in their task by their rigid loyalty to precedents, and an apparent desire to suggest no more changes than the irreducible minimum ; for they had not ventured on many suggested by the Bishops, *e.g.* to provide selections of alternative Psalms, to omit the Collect for the King after the Commandments in the Communion Office, to insert some national Saints in the Calendar, and, most striking of all, 'To many Churchmen, moreover, a brief commemoration of the faithful in Paradise would be inexpressibly welcome.' And while they caused disappointment in this direction, they provoked considerable opposition in others, *e.g.* by proposing to alter the language of the Proper Preface for Whitsunday, and to substitute for the declaration now required of deacons concerning belief in the Canonical Scriptures that which is put to the candidates for priesthood on the same subject. The careful work of the Committee was thus prejudiced in the minds of many Churchmen as a general surrender to the Latitudinarians.

During the sessions of Convocation in 1909 time was only found to deal with those proposals of this Committee which dealt with the Prayer Book as far as the Litany ; and it was decided by the Lower House not to touch the Ornaments Rubric, and to omit the rubric before *Quicumque Vult*, but to provide for Liturgical use a form of the Canticle which should not contain the warning clauses. The rest of the changes agreed to involved little beyond the recognition in the text of the Book of Common Prayer of what was already established in custom or provided for by the Shortened Services Act. A new Report (No. 447) has been presented this year, on July 1, which deals simply with the Litany and Holy Communion, including the Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions, and the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. In these amended proposals there is



much more approximation to the suggestions made at Lambeth, *e.g.* in the permission to abridge the Litany, with the provision of two fresh suffrages dealing with the work and supply of missionaries, and in the promise of Proper Prefaces for the Epiphany and other special days. Cause of offence in regard to the altering the words of the Whitsun Preface has been removed by proposing to substitute for our present Preface an adaptation of that in the Sarum Missal. And most noteworthy of all, whether due to Earl Nelson's plea at the Pan-Anglican Congress or not, is a proposal 'that a service on the lines of the Scottish Communion Office be provided as an alternative.' For the discussion of these proposals there is to be a special session of Convocation in November.

Proposals for revision have been made in a different manner altogether in the Scottish Episcopal Church. Various deviations from the text of the Prayer Book had already been made permissible by Canon, *e.g.* in the Confirmation and Marriage Services, and the 'Scottish Office' was practically in the position of an authorized supplement. Accordingly, when on October 1, 1906, the Consultative Council on Church Legislation of the Episcopal Church in Scotland appointed a Committee 'to consider the revision of the Canons, and to report to the Consultative Council,' it was inevitable that these deviations should come under consideration. And the Committee came to the conclusion, in which the Consultative Council readily concurred, that it would be preferable to relegate to the *Appendix to the Code of Canons* all permissible deviations from the Book of Common Prayer. In addition to those which were already authorized, others had been suggested, and the Bishops by request drew up tables of Special Psalms and Lessons, and prepared additional, or alternative, prayers and other forms. All these were arranged in order by a sub-committee, and published as a *Schedule*, containing twenty-eight pages, for the information of the Church, at the beginning of the present year. They are well worth study, not only because of the manner in which it is proposed to effect revision, but also because of their matter. Alternative selections of Psalms

are provided for the thirty-first day of the month, as well as for occasions when, in the ordinary course, 'imprecatory' Psalms would be said ; Proper Psalms are provided for the Epiphany, Holy Week and Easter Eve, Harvest Thanksgiving and Dedication Festivals, and the Proper Psalms for days when there is a Proper Preface may be used every day when that Preface is used ; a large number of additional Proper Lessons are provided, chiefly from the New Testament, for use on Sundays, but also from both Testaments, for the first Evensong of some festivals ; at Morning and Evening Prayer a prayer is provided for use instead of those for the King's Majesty, the Royal Family, and Parliament ; four additional suffrages are provided for the Litany, which may be shortened when used before the celebration of Holy Communion by omitting the Lord's Prayer and all that follows down to the Prayer of St. Chrysostom ; no less than twenty-three 'additional prayers upon several occasions' are put forward for consideration, as well as two forms of Commemoration of the Faithful Departed, all of which accord with the recommendations made by the Lambeth Conferences ; then comes a Bidding Prayer, with special collects to be said at the conclusion of the service in Advent and on the Proper Preface Days, and a form of request for the prayers of the congregation in cases of sickness or other need. Next come special Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for Christmas, Easter, the Transfiguration, the feasts of four national Saints, at the thanksgiving for harvest, the Dedication Festival, weddings, and funerals. In the Communion Service the Collects for the King may be omitted, and both the post-Communion prayers said : eight additional Proper Prefaces are provided, and directions are given to substitute other words for 'damnation' in the two exhortations. Into the proposals in regard to Holy Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Matrimony we need not enter, though the emendations in the latter are similar to those suggested in the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury. All that is necessary is to repeat how closely the Scottish Committee has adhered all through to the lines laid down by the Committee of the Lambeth Conference, and how

amply by doing so it has secured both adaptation and enrichment.

We now pass to the manner in which these Scottish proposals are put forward. And here, too, the advantage over the Canterbury method is manifest ; for by setting out all their proposals as a Schedule they meet the objections raised in many quarters to interference with the actual text of the Book of Common Prayer. The result is, of course, in both cases the same ; but where, as has been proved to be the case in England, so many intelligent people are the slaves of a phrase, it would be imprudent to risk the success of a good cause by insisting that the distinction makes no difference. Nor was the Scottish method long in finding a welcome in the province of Canterbury. At the London Diocesan Conference, where last year a resolution adverse to any revision of the Prayer Book was carried by a large majority, the following resolution was proposed this year :

‘ That this Conference, recognising that objections have been raised to any alterations of the text of the Book of Common Prayer, is of opinion that the cause of a reasonable revision would be best served if permissible additions and deviations, including a rearrangement of the Lectionary and Psalter, were to be scheduled in the form of an Appendix.’

To this motion Canon Newbolt proposed an amendment to omit the word ‘deviations,’ but his amendment was lost by thirty-six votes (106 for, 142 against), and the original resolution was then carried by a large majority, 156 voting for it, and 78 against it. We may take it, therefore, that the lead thus given by the London diocese will be followed elsewhere, and that similar resolutions in favour of an Appendix will be passed during the autumn in all parts of the country. For there is no doubt of the growth of the feeling that something must be done. In a remarkable article on July 8, the *Church Times* gave currency to the following opinions :

‘ It is felt by the opponents of the present Revision that a confession of impotence in the sight of the world could not fail to discredit the Church of England, and afford a new cry to her

enemies. It is to be avoided, if possible, that a bare negative should be returned to the interrogations of the Crown, which would be chary in days to come of directing any future Letter of Business to the Convocations. Opinion seems to be concentrating on the proposal to leave the Prayer Book as it is, with the addition of an Appendix containing forms of service and other additions for use on various occasions, subject to the approval of the Ordinary. The Coronation Service might be printed in the Appendix, and it might also contain the Explanatory Note on the Athanasian Creed agreed to by Convocation in 1873 and again in 1879.'

This article was the more noteworthy because at the annual meeting of the English Church Union on June 14 resolutions of opposition to revision were adopted, after speeches in which some things were said that were ungenerous and misleading, as, for example, that

'It was not revision which was demanded, but an assault upon the Catholic faith and discipline [applause]. As regards liturgical ignorance, taking Dr. Wickham Legg's statement, . . . the percentage of liturgical knowledge in the Lower House worked out mathematically at 0·8 [laughter].'

It is, however, worth while to mention the points which were brought forward as indicative of the kind of revision which would satisfy the speakers: Revision of the calendar, the remedy of the dislocation of the Canon, the restoration of distinct and definite prayers for the departed, and of unction for the sick, and the provision of introits, antiphons, office-hymns, processions, Rogation and Holy Week offices.

The question is, how is that to be done about which the feeling is growing that it must be done? Let us take first the plan of Lord Halifax, put forward at the Annual Meeting of the English Church Union:

'A formal Revision of the Prayer Book undertaken by Convocation implies further procedure either by Act of Parliament or by Canon to give it legal sanction. To refer such matters to Parliament appears to me to be absolutely suicidal, and so far as it is desired to settle matters by Canons having legal force, the same objection applies to procedure by Canon. Surely,



inasmuch as the Acts of Uniformity are for all intents and purposes dead, whatever it is generally thought desirable to do is best carried out by the Bishops in the exercise of their inherent liturgical rights. Why cannot the Bishops authorize on their own responsibility such changes as may be desirable? They have only to take the matter into their own hands, and any changes that were really good and desirable, and in harmony with ancient practice and the teaching of the Church, would eventually assert themselves and obtain the force of law and custom without difficulty or discussion. It is what we must come to sooner or later, and the sooner we realize the fact the better.’<sup>1</sup>

But many questions are raised by these statements. How many parish priests are there who can say, that so far as their experience goes the Acts of Uniformity are dead? Are they not perpetually liable to find themselves pulled up with a reminder that the Acts of Uniformity are in force, and must be obeyed? Again, what are the ‘inherent liturgical rights’ which a Bishop can exercise? Nothing is more remarkable than the disappearance from the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1908 of those references to the powers of the Bishop which had been asserted in the previous decades. In 1878 it is recognized that deviations from the Book of Common Prayer may be approved by the Bishop.<sup>2</sup> In 1888 the Conference felt that ‘the daily offices and such further forms of service as the exigencies of different Churches or countries may demand’ ‘may be safely left for the present to the action of the Bishops of each province.’<sup>3</sup> In 1897 the following two resolutions were passed:

‘45. That this Conference recognises the exclusive right of each Bishop to put forth or sanction additional services for use within his jurisdiction, subject to such limitations as may be imposed by the provincial or other lawful authority.

‘46. That this Conference also recognises in each Bishop

<sup>1</sup> *The Address delivered by Viscount Halifax at the Fifty-first Anniversary of the E.C.U.*, p. 14 (E.C.U. Office).

<sup>2</sup> *The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, 1888*, edited by the Very Rev. R. T. Davidson, Dean of Windsor, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 356.

within his jurisdiction the exclusive right of adapting the Services in the Book of Common Prayer to local circumstances, and also of directing or sanctioning the use of additional prayers, subject to such limitations as may be imposed by provincial or other lawful authority, provided also that any such adaptation shall not affect the doctrinal teaching or value of the Service or passage thus adapted.'

But in 1908 there is no reference to any such power of the Bishops, and the reason is probably to be sought in the very emphatic verdict of the Ecclesiastical Discipline Commission (paragraphs 43, 44) :

'A claim has been advanced that a power resides in each Diocesan Bishop to control the public services of the Churches in his diocese, and to authorize additions and omissions therein to an extent which no witness has defined, but which is supposed to cover a larger area of immunity from the requirements of the Acts of Uniformity than any construction of the Shortened Services Act would warrant. This right, under the name of *jus liturgicum*, was claimed definitely by at least two Bishops, and less distinctly by another, as a power inherent in the Episcopal office, which has never been specifically taken away from Bishops of the Church of England. . . . But many of their Lordships, while stating their emphatic opinion that the needs of the Church of England make it essential that the Bishops should exercise, or continue to exercise, some such power, do not claim for it any legal foundation.

'There cannot, in our opinion, be any doubt that the Acts of Uniformity bind Bishops as well as other clergymen : and that the law does not recognize any right in a Bishop to override the provisions as to services, rites, and ceremonies contained in those Acts. . . . Though Bishops have from time to time used a certain liberty of action with a view to relax the stringency of the Acts of Uniformity, it does not appear to us that there is any legal ground for assuming that, apart from statutory provision, the Bishop of a diocese has an inherent right to dispense the clergy from observing the provisions of those Acts. Such an assumption would, in our opinion, be inconsistent with the constitutional relations of Church and State in England ; and it seems reasonable also to hold that, on the principles of ecclesiastical order, the collective action of the Bishops assembled in the Convocations of both Provinces, when in 1662 they

appointed the use of the Prayer Book, has precluded the claim of any individual Bishop to set aside or alter what is therein prescribed.'

It has caused deep regret to some, who are most grateful to Lord Halifax for his steadfast witness to the Catholic inheritance of the Church of England, that he should so persistently and deliberately ignore this opinion. We cannot, of course, claim infallibility for the Commissioners, but such an expression of opinion as has been quoted above deserves great respect, and is the cause of the general recognition that the only way out of our present difficulties is to go to Parliament. Very clear and emphatic statements to this effect were made by the Bishop of Rochester to his Diocesan Conference on June 14, and by the Bishop of North Queensland to his Synod on June 27. In no other sphere of life would deliberate violation of the law be acquiesced in or even encouraged. It should only be the last expedient if all other resources fail, if legislation is not allowed, and if the voice of the Church through its legislative councils is suppressed. But that is not the case. The opportunity of legislation has been given. When the Trades Unions find points in their practice to be illegal, which are yet for any reason desirable, they go to Parliament and get the law altered; and the more Labour men there are in Parliament the more inscrutable must it seem to them that the Church cannot take the obvious course and remedy the breakdown of discipline through the obsolescence of its laws and resistance to their judicial interpretations, by getting the law altered. We believe that were the recommendations of the Discipline Commission carried out, and a coherent scheme of Church legislation submitted to Parliament, the voice of the united Church would be listened to with as much deference as the voice of Labour. Certainly the Archbishop of Canterbury laid stress on the fact that 'every facility for [carrying out those recommendations] has been afforded us by the authorities of the State,' and that 'under two successive Liberal Prime Ministers the most scrupulous care

has been taken to observe the constitutional rights of Convocation.<sup>1</sup>

How, then, can the time be inopportune for approaching Parliament? For the point is whether Parliament would be ready to listen to us; we are not yet, nor for a long time shall be, ready to submit our matured proposals to it.

'The mere fact that the Letters of Business have been granted and been renewed is a witness to the desire on the part of the Government to consider seriously and in a friendly spirit the suggestions of Convocation. If these suggestions are accepted and embodied in an Act of Parliament the relief will be immediate and permanent, whereas if they are rejected there will be no longer ground for calling on the Bishops to enforce the law, because the only way in which the law could have been enforced would have been closed by Parliament itself. But it is hardly to be expected that such would be the issue, since whichever party were in power the Bill embodying the reply to the Letters of Business would be a Government measure.'<sup>2</sup>

Why should we not hope that the precedent set in 1662 would be followed, and that while the Schedule of proposed alterations was perused and the Book as revised carefully scrutinized, the House of Commons should agree not to exercise its right of discussing the changes made by Convocation, but accept them *en bloc*?<sup>3</sup>

We should be more likely to get this treatment if the Church could manifest more consciousness of its actual unity and its common need. Here and there tokens of this consciousness appear. At the Salisbury Diocesan Synod a resolution in favour of Prayer Book Revision received 254 votes for it, and only 72 against; at the London Diocesan Conference the change of feeling in twelve months, as already recorded, is remarkable; and during the coming winter steps, for which preparation has been quietly made during

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle of Convocation*, Feb. 1910.

<sup>2</sup> *Address of the Bishop of Rochester to his Diocesan Conference*, June 14, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Proctor and Frere, *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 205.



the summer months, will be taken to carry further forward a movement first made public on April 23, when the following Memorial, signed by resident members of every college but one in the University, and a few representative clergy from the diocese, of Oxford, was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury :

‘ We, the undersigned, Members of the University of Oxford with Clergy beneficed in the Diocese, desire to represent to your Grace our earnest hope that advantage will be taken of the present opportunity for Prayer Book Revision.

‘ We are not entirely of one mind about the interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric and the use of the *Quicumque Vult*, but differences on those points have not prevented our harmonious co-operation in the great tasks of the Church, and may be regarded as giving a greater value to our unanimous feeling that it is desirable to carry forward resolutely the work of Revision which has already been begun. It would be more satisfactory to us if the work could have been undertaken by a reformed Convocation in which the parochial clergy, beneficed and unbeneficed, would have larger representation : but we admit that the official members are representative, and that not in unfair proportions, of the various schools of thought within the Church, and we are sensible of the value of the Reports already drawn up by the Committees. The conclusions stated in these Reports, and the decisions subsequently taken upon them after debate in Convocation, have advanced considerably the hope of a peaceful settlement of some vexed questions by removing occasion for mischievous controversy.

‘ We therefore welcome the renewal to the present Convocation of the Letters of Business granted to its predecessor, and trust that such an answer will be returned to them as may, by GOD’S blessing, be permanently beneficial to the whole Church, whether at home or beyond the seas.’

We would leave readers with their eyes and hearts fixed on that wide horizon to which they are directed in the last words of this Memorial.

C. R. DAVEY BIGGS.

## II.

IN a recent work upon the Prayer Book,<sup>1</sup> the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart of Connecticut has given an account of the revision of the American Prayer Book which was carried through by the American Church and brought to a successful conclusion in 1892. In a review of Dr. Hart's book in a contemporary attention was called to the harmonious manner in which the work was carried through to a successful termination in spite of timid counsels at the start, and the moral was pointed that it ought to be and would be perfectly possible to carry through a similar revision in England with equal harmony, and to bring it to an equally successful conclusion.

How, then, does it come about that in England the present prospects appear very different? What was the magic influence which in America made for peace? Whence was poured the oil upon the theological waters, usually so troubled, which caused the brethren to dwell together in unity, and gave for wild confusion peace? The magic is not far to seek. Those who presided over the proposals for revision were fully aware of the dangers, and the possible scandal of a party victory which would leave one party with a deep resentment at what they would consider unfair treatment; and it was resolved at the outset that *no alteration should be made which should affect any point of doctrine or principle*. It was pointed out that a doctrinal revision was one thing, a liturgical revision another thing altogether: that the revisions of the English Prayer Book had been for the most part doctrinal revisions with very little claim to be called liturgical revisions at all; and that the proposed revision was intended to be the exact reverse—a revision which should have for its object 'liturgical enrichment and elasticity,' without any alteration whatever that should touch the doctrines and principles of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer*. By S. Hart, D.D., Dean of Berkeley Divinity School. (Sewanee, Tenn.: University of the South Press. 1910.) Reviewed in the *Guardian*, May 6, 1910.

If a similar condition were laid down in connexion with the proposed revision of the English Prayer Book which is now well under weigh, we doubt not that in England, as in America, a valuable revision might be carried through with the same harmony among all parties, and with even more valuable results; but the statesmanship of our leaders is shewn in a very different light. The motive forces behind our revision are twofold—(1) a party which greatly desires to alter the status of the Athanasian Creed, and (2) what may be called the 'official party,' which desires to get the administrative machinery of the Church out of the tangle in which it is (theoretically at least) involved by decisions which cannot be acted upon as to the meaning of the Ornaments Rubric; and the aims of these parties are being pushed forward on the plea that the practical needs of the twentieth century cannot be regulated by rubrics three hundred years old. Thus a revision which touches doctrine and principles is being deliberately mixed up with practical reforms and liturgical enrichments in the hope that the 'High' and 'Low' parties may be so appeased by suitable concessions that they will allow the 'liberals' to obtain the desire of their hearts. The natural result of a revision carried through on these lines will be a burning sense of injustice on the part of both 'High' and 'Low' parties, who will feel not only that the doctrinal basis of the Church has been altered to the disadvantage of both parties, but also that they have been compelled to give up that which they themselves value in exchange for concessions which they not only regard as of little value, but which they would rather not have at all!<sup>1</sup>

If only our rulers would adopt the statesmanlike condition laid down by the American leaders in 1882! Or, if the demand for a revision on points that touch doctrine

<sup>1</sup> The High Church party would certainly prefer the present state of things to a revised Ornaments Rubric *which left the Vestments to the discretion of the bishop*; and the Low Church party have said plainly that no proposed concession would outweigh (in their opinion) any 'legalization' of the Vestments.

and principle be too strong to be ruled out in this way, then let the questions of the Athanasian Creed and the Ornaments Rubric be discussed by themselves on their merits, and let these 'burning questions' be settled—in everything except the final enactment—before the liturgical and practical revision be undertaken.

At the present time almost all those members of the English Church whose opinion on liturgical points is of real value are opposed to the doctrinal alterations which furnish the life-blood of the revision movement, and consequently feel that they can take no share in any revision of which these doctrinal alterations form a part; but if these 'burning questions' were out of the way, they would be able to take part in a revision that was purely liturgical and practical, and independent of any alteration of the basis of doctrine and principles set forth in the Prayer Book.

Let us suppose then that, apart from the settlement of any 'burning questions,' the Church should embark on a liturgical and practical revision, what should be the course pursued? The common course has been to appoint a committee (or some similar body) of divines or persons of distinction, among whom one or two recognized authorities on liturgical studies were included, as, for example, Bishop Cosin was the brightest ornament on the committee of divines who revised the Prayer Book in 1662. What was the result on that occasion?

The committee was directed to compare the services of the Prayer Book 'with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times.' Bishop Cosin (who was learned in these ancient liturgies) proposed several liturgical improvements; but these were almost entirely overruled and rejected by the steady majority of 'practical men' who knew nothing of ancient liturgies, and were afraid of any 'novelty,' preferring instead their own uninstructed ideas of what constituted liturgical improvements. The consequence was that although we owe a great debt of gratitude to the



revisers of 1662 for the recovery of points that have to do with fundamental principles, yet almost every purely *liturgical* alteration in that revision is a blunder. And yet the ordinary Churchman very naturally supposes that this revision was an example of liturgical improvement, because Cosin was the leading spirit on the committee and he had so profound a knowledge of the ancient liturgies !

Cannot a better plan be devised than that of 1662 ? We would suggest something like the following. Let three committees be appointed — of Evangelical theologians, High Church theologians, and liturgical experts<sup>1</sup> respectively. Supposing the present ' burning questions ' out of the way, let all other proposals for liturgical improvements—which should be received from any quarter—be submitted to these three committees : the two committees of theologians will decide whether any proposal would alter in any way the present basis of doctrine or principle, each member giving his opinion and the reasons for it ; and the third committee would in like manner give their opinions as to the liturgical character of the proposal. These committees might from time to time meet together in conference, and their reports would be submitted to the Convocations and the Church at large. We believe that such a process as the above would give confidence to Churchmen : the sensitiveness that is afraid of any change proposed by ' the other side,' and apt to see in it a subtle attempt to alter the present standard of doctrine or to upset the balance of parties, would be allayed by the trusted representatives of their own side, and the whole series of reports and discussions would educate the public opinion of the Church in general in a way that nothing else could do.

Before entering upon liturgical improvements we must notice a considerable number of practical improvements in the Prayer Book which involve *no change whatever in*

<sup>1</sup> Of course these committees must not be confined to members of the Convocations. They ought to be composed of all the best available talent. How much respect would the Revised Version receive to-day, if it had been the work of members of the Convocations only ?

*the services as said*, but would only by alterations in the way of printing the book make the Prayer Book more easy to understand and to follow. In the first place, can anything be more bewildering to anyone who is entirely unaccustomed to the Prayer Book, and takes it up for the first time, than the complicated tables and miscellaneous matter at the beginning, which are practically useless to the average man? <sup>1</sup> Could not these be banished to some convenient limbo? There might be a short preface,<sup>2</sup> which should explain succinctly 'How to use this book,' followed by the Calendar, and then the actual services. Again, if there had been a sinister design on the part of those responsible for the arrangement of the Prayer Book to throw the Communion Service into the background by making it difficult to find the 'Order' for that service, could they have devised a better plan than to separate this service from the rest of the regular services, and to place it after all the Collects, Epistles and Gospels? The services ought to be printed in the order—Morning Prayer, Litany, Communion Service and Evening Prayer,<sup>3</sup> after which might come the 'Prayers and Thanksgivings' (a clumsy title) and the Collects, etc. Again, when the average man is following Mattins or Evensong, he suddenly finds the clergyman putting in other prayers before the Prayer of St. Chrysostom

<sup>1</sup> If the lessons (as recommended below) were arranged so as to follow the days of the week, a table of the lessons for each week would be much better placed along with the Collects, Epistles and Gospels: and in small editions of the Prayer Book we might well revert to the custom (not so long abandoned) of printing only references to chapters and verses for the Epistles and Gospels, instead of printing these at length. We might thus be able to abolish the use of the abominably small type in which our smaller prayers are now printed.

<sup>2</sup> If we could have a new preface in which should be laid down the principles of the Church, as expressed or implied in various authoritative documents—Articles, Canons, etc.—now scattered, and not easy to refer to! But there is nothing (as Bishop Creighton said) which the average Englishman hates so much as a principle.

<sup>3</sup> An even better order theoretically would be: Evening Prayer, Morning Prayer, Litany and Communion Service. For the Christian as for the Jew 'the evening and the morning were the . . . day.'

without any apparent rubrical direction to do so. To remedy this it has been proposed to print the Prayer 'for all sorts and conditions of men' and the General Thanksgiving in the Order for Morning Prayer, and again in the Order for Evening Prayer. This would be a sort of solution, but it is 'the wrong way round.' The best way would be the reverse of this, *viz.* to transfer all the prayers after the third collect to the 'Prayers and Thanksgivings,' adding a rubric after the rubric about the anthem, 'Here follow other prayers, page . . . .' (We need page references all through the Prayer Book.) Again, could any conservatism be much more unnecessary than the retention of the present sequence of our Occasional Services, in which the Churching of Women does not follow Matrimony, but is put (as an after-thought) after the Burial of the Dead. The Americans have found a much better place for their version of the Communion Service, and a more convenient place for the Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea and similar services—if it is worth while to have these latter services printed in all editions of the Prayer Book.

One of the great aims of those who compiled our Book of Common Prayer was to put into the hands of the people a book that should be simple and easy to use, and the ordinary Churchman never realizes how very moderate was the success that crowned their efforts compared with what it might have been. 'Our incomparable liturgy' comes off very badly in this respect when compared with an ordinary French *Paroissien Romain*.

In a 'Paroissien' for the service of the Mass one has to refer to two places only—one where we find the 'Order' of the service, and the other where all the variable portions (Introit, Collect, Epistle, Gospel, etc.) are given in order, *with page-references everywhere*; and even for Vespers the process of following the service is but slightly more difficult. Contrast the difficulty of 'finding the places' in our own services, not to mention the additional difficulties created by the absence of rubrics where they ought to be found, the want of clearness in several of our old-fashioned directions, and the general absence of any page-references

in the rubrics. Besides this, the 'enrichments' added in the several revisions of the Prayer Book have been added in such a muddle-headed manner that they have greatly increased the difficulties since the first Prayer Book was issued. We cannot blame the men of the sixteenth century for not doing better than they did in this respect—theirs was a first attempt; but we ought to blame our own insular self-sufficiency and stupid conservatism for the fact that we have not mended matters in the past three hundred years, but have instead carefully preserved unnecessary complications, and even when new devotions have been added, we have done it without any care to do it in a way that should be easy for the people to follow.

It is a thankless task for a student of liturgies to propose strictly liturgical improvements. If he brings forward a large scheme, the average man gasps and says, 'I have never heard of anything like this—this is altogether too revolutionary a proposal'; if, on the contrary, he proposes slight improvements, the answer is, 'What is the use of these trifling little changes: they are only irritating and quite unnecessary: why make a bother about such needless alterations when no doctrine is involved?'—and so either way the liturgical scholar is pushed on one side, and the only alterations which it is possible to carry are those which commend themselves to the sentiment or the convenience of the many, and those which are thought to be 'liturgical improvements' by those who know very little of liturgies.

The writer will, however, presently venture upon a few suggestions, some improvements of a simple character, and one or two others of a larger scope, and the readers of this *Review* will thus be enabled to test for themselves what is their own attitude towards these proposals. But before entering into details a word or two must be said concerning true and false liturgical principles.

There are certain notions, put forward with great confidence by some persons as 'liturgical principles,' which not only have no claim to be called 'principles' but are the reverse of 'liturgical,' and are quite contrary to the general



lines on which ancient services have been constructed. These must be mentioned in order that they may be avoided. In the first place it has been said that 'all services should begin with the Lord's Prayer.' It would be true of all ancient services suitable for our imitation to say that no ancient service ever began with the Lord's Prayer. The choir services in later mediaeval times were *preceded by* the Lord's Prayer, said not as a part of the service but as a private preparatory devotion *before* the service, which from the liturgical standpoint is quite a different matter; and, moreover, this use of the Lord's Prayer as a preparatory devotion is a bad custom, a sign of decadence when the golden age of liturgies was past. The Fathers would have regarded it as grossly irreverent to use the Lord's Prayer for a purpose like this, and the custom is probably due only to the ignorance of the friars, who did not know or could not remember any other prayer to use before they began their services!

Secondly, at the time of the American revision certain persons urged that 'all services ought to begin with the invocation.' No ancient service resembling our own in character ever began with the invocation; and the nearest instance is the Mozarabic Lauds and Vespers which began with a somewhat similar invocation—'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ light with peace.' But these services are of an entirely different type from our own.

Again, it has been asserted that it is a profound 'liturgical principle' to distinguish between the use of the two forms of the Lord's Prayer, *viz.* with the doxology and without it; and that the doxology ought to be used when the service (or the part of the service) is one of thanksgiving, and omitted when the service (or part of the service) has a penitential character. The profundity of this 'principle' may be judged from the simple fact that before 1662 in no rite or liturgy in the world were both forms of the Lord's Prayer used: the Easterns used one form, the Westerns the other, but no one used both forms. Not only is the use of both forms a peculiarity of the Anglican Prayer Book, but it is a peculiarity unknown to that book until

the last revision. And even in our present book this theory of its use will not bear examination. The doxology is not used in the thanksgiving after Baptism, nor in the public reception of those that have been privately baptized, nor in the thanksgiving after Confirmation; nor in the Marriage or Burial Services, though in these cases the element of thanksgiving is the predominant note. In fact, the whole notion of this profound liturgical principle is all moonshine; and it would be much better to drop the doxology altogether in our services as having no Scriptural authority, and being inconsistent with the Western character of these services. It is a 'man-made' addition to the divinely appointed form.

Fourthly, we must beware of the temptation to bring the rubrics into accord with 'generally accepted usage.' This idea (so natural to the official mind) was doubtless the cause of a large proportion of the blunders of 1662; and what would our services be like now, if the rubrics had been brought into accord with 'generally accepted usage' in the eighteenth century? 'But,' it will be said, 'things are very different now: now our services have been wonderfully improved, and we do not see that they could generally be better than they are now.' That is just the fault of the proposal: it is founded upon the tacit assumption that now we have attained almost to perfection and that this perfection ought to be stereotyped. But what is the opinion about this matter of those who really know? Their opinion is that, apart from all partisan ideas, we have not reached anywhere near perfection, and that *where the Prayer Book differs from 'generally accepted usage,' the Prayer Book is more likely to be right and 'generally accepted usage' to be wrong.* Since the Reformation in every age in turn the 'generally accepted usage' of the age has been the pride of that particular period, but the derision of the succeeding ages.

Once more, there is a form of spurious sacerdotalism which is only a hindrance in the way of carrying out true Church principles. Certain persons used to maintain that a layman ought not to read the lessons, and others now

raise similar ignorant scruples and object to a layman reading the Epistle, or to his assisting at all at Holy Communion, or to the chanters singing the greater portion of the Litany, or to a layman using the pulpit. Yet these very objections are not only contrary to primitive principles of the Church, but are contrary to the practice of the Church of England since the Reformation. The only place for reading the lessons for which any specific direction can be found is the pulpit, and it is the duty of the parish clerk of every church to read the lessons in the pulpit, to assist the priest at Holy Communion and to read the Epistle in the pulpit. This was carried out for long after the Reformation, until the illiteracy of the clerks or the spurious sacerdotalism of the clergy consigned it to oblivion.<sup>1</sup>

There is only one principle which ought to be recognized as fundamental for the decision of all questions of liturgical improvement or ecclesiastical propriety, one touchstone by which they should be tried, *viz.* a genuine appeal to the liturgical standards and ecclesiastical customs of the 'best and purest ages of the Church.' This is the fundamental principle of the English Church: we demand that this appeal shall not only be recognized in theory, but that it be established in practice. We demand that all proposals for liturgical enrichment or reform shall be tried by this test, and that there be no paltering with this principle, no 'hedging' on the part of our legislators, and no attempt to set aside this appeal on other grounds, when the result of an honest appeal to it appears to lead to consequences that seem 'inconvenient' to some, or are unpalatable to others.

Lastly, in the introduction of any reforms, however admirable, there is always the difficulty that a considerable number of the people who would be affected prefer the old way. What is to be done? How is the new (and better) way to be commended, and the opposition overcome; or, when it is doubtful whether the new way is practically convenient, how is this to be decided? The only real

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. F. Atchley, *The Right of the Parish Clerk to read the Epistle*; J. Wickham Legg, *The Clerk's Book*.

test of practical convenience is to give a fair trial, and this is the best way also in the case of reforms to which there is any substantial opposition. Let the proposed reform be *permitted* but not *enforced*: if it is valuable it will make its own way with a minimum of friction; if not, the permission will probably become a dead letter. We would follow out this principle in the case of almost all proposed liturgical improvements, in spite of the outcry against replacing 'shall' by 'may' in the rubrics. For indeed we believe this outcry to be very largely hypocritical. When an objector would prefer an improvement that he himself advocates to be forbidden rather than that it should be permitted without being enforced, we can at least listen to him with respect; but when we find that those who object to the permission of reforms confine their objections to those reforms which they themselves wish to be forbidden, or do so because they wish all reforms to be forbidden, then we can neither yield to their wishes nor respect the sincerity of their objection. In these days the way of any reforms which give rise to difference of opinion (and how few do not!) must necessarily lie along the road of permission; for the only alternative, *viz.* the imposition of reforms from above, ought to be avoided whenever possible.

If we come then to details, the following are a few of the smaller points where improvement is possible. First, it would be well to provide *sub-titles* to certain definite parts of the services. The essential part of Morning and Evening Prayer might be marked off from the preparatory devotions both by difference of types and by a sub-title, 'THE MATTINS,' just before 'O Lord, open Thou our lips.' The rest of the prayers after the third Collect would (as recommended above) no longer be printed as *an integral part* of these services, but as devotions supplementary to these services, by being included among the 'Prayers and Thanksgivings.' In the same way there should be sub-titles in the Litany, 'THE ANTHEM' before 'O Lord, arise, etc.', and 'THE SUFFRAGES' before 'From our enemies, etc.'; and the title of the whole should



be restored to the original title, 'THE LITANY AND SUFFRAGES' (as still used in the Ordinal); or still better, to 'THE LITANY, ANTHEM AND SUFFRAGES.' In the Communion Service there should be sub-titles: 'THE PREPARATION' at the beginning, 'THE OFFERTORY,' 'THE CONFESSION' before 'Ye that do truly,' 'THE GREAT THANKSGIVING' before 'Lift up your hearts,' 'THE POST-COMMUNION' before the second Lord's Prayer.

Secondly, it adds greatly to the unity of each service to have only one Lord's Prayer in each; therefore the first Lord's Prayer in Morning and Evening Prayer and in the Communion Service should be omitted, or at least its omission should be permitted. In all these cases the second Lord's Prayer is the one which belongs to the true structure of the service and the first is only a preparatory devotion.

Thirdly, it would be no improvement to appoint additional 'opening sentences' for Morning and Evening Prayer, especially to attempt to supply sentences suitable to the Church's seasons; these sentences are not the place for marking the great days or seasons, they are a liturgical blot upon the service, and if one party desire the addition of more sentences, the concession ought to be balanced by permission to omit them altogether, on Sundays as well as week-days. Neither the Exhortation nor the Absolution are suited for daily recitation, and simpler alternatives might be provided, but the better plan would be to make everything before 'O Lord, open Thou our lips' and after the third Collect optional.<sup>1</sup>

What persuaded the revisers of 1662 to insert the rubric 'Here, all standing up, etc.' before 'Glory be to the Father, etc.' instead of before 'O Lord, open Thou our lips'? They could not have compared this point with the ancient liturgies, or they would have seen that there is no precedent whatever for kneeling during these opening Versicles. Here would be a small but indisputable reform. The provision

<sup>1</sup> It is irritating and unnecessary to insist upon the saying of the Prayer of St. Chrysostom and the Grace when the preceding prayers are omitted—a shortsighted idea, without any liturgical justification.

of the answer 'The Lord's name be praised' also was another blunder, necessitated by the (no doubt) customary mistake of the *priest* saying 'Praise ye the Lord.' A reference to the 'ancient liturgies' would have shewn that the Alleluia (which was unfortunately translated by the compilers of the Prayer Book instead of being left in the original) is said *by the people* at the end of 'As it was in the beginning, etc.', except in the penitential time: this might be restored, but in any case 'Praise ye the Lord' with its answer should be omitted.

The rubric ordering the omission of the *Venite* upon the 19th day is a totally unnecessary complication. The same result would be attained quite simply by omitting Psalm 95 in the Psalter.

There might be several improvements in the arrangement of the Psalms without any drastic alteration of the present plan, *e.g.* Psalm 141 might be transferred from Mattins to Evensong (as done in the American revision); Psalm 98 might be added to the 19th morning, and Psalm 113 to the 23rd evening. Psalms 9 and 10 should be treated as one Psalm; similarly 42 and 43; and, on the contrary, Psalm 27 (which is really *two* psalms) should be divided, and Psalm 29 transferred to the 6th morning. A selection of psalms for the 31st day should be printed at the end of the Psalter; these might well consist of psalms from different parts of the Psalter, which would go well together, as *e.g.* Psalms 30 and 116; Psalms 2, 110 and 132; Psalms 74 and 79, or similar ones; and after these should be added a selection of twelve or more Old Testament Canticles, which could be used according to the season or day between the Lessons at Mattins and Evensong.<sup>1</sup> There should be only one Gospel-Canticle at each service, as the climax to which all the psalmody should lead up. This is the case at present

<sup>1</sup> These Canticles might be the following: (i) Te Deum; (ii) Deut. xxxiii 1-43 (or part); (iii) Is. xxvi 1-19; (iv) 1 Sam. ii 1-10; (v) Exod. xv 1-18; (vi) Is. xxxviii 10-20; (vii) Benedicite; (viii) Song of the Three Children, 29-34; (ix) Hab. iii 2-19; (x) Ecclus. 1 22-24; (xi) Is. xii 1, 2, 4-6; (xii) Is. xlii 10-16; (xiii) Deut. xxxiii 2-5, 26-29; (xiv) Jonah ii 2-9; (xv) Quicunque Vult.

with Benedictus at Mattins ; at Evensong, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis might be printed as alternative Gospel-Canticles after the Second Lesson.

The Versicles after the (second) Lord's Prayer are the intercessions appropriate to these services ; consequently, if it be desired to add other intercessions in these services, this should be done by means of additional Versicles, and not by means of additional Collects, and the whole series should be concluded by one prayer—the Collect, to be said by the priest standing. Our 'second and third Collects' are really remains of the ancient 'Memories,' each of which should consist of an Antiphon, Gloria Patri, Versicle and Answer and Collect, instead of the Collect only. We might well have alternative Memories to replace our Collects for Peace and Grace, on various days, and so afford a variety.

The Litany is very long, and everything after the first Collect is only supplementary and not a part of the Litany proper. The original Litany ended with the last 'Lord have mercy,' and the Bishop concluded it with the Collect for the day : thereupon followed the Liturgy, which began with the Epistle. If it is necessary to shorten our Sunday morning service, why not allow the priest to omit everything after the last 'Lord have mercy' in the Litany, passing to the Collect of the day (and omitting all that precedes it) in the Communion Service ? At any rate, 'Amen' should be restored after the first collect in the Litany, in accordance with the rubric after the Absolution at Morning Prayer.

It is a thousand pities that the use of the Ante-Communion Service at midday (on occasions when there is no celebration of the Eucharist) has been so generally dropped in recent years. Its use on these occasions has been decried and derided as 'uncatholic' by those who knew 'a little' about liturgical matters. Not only is this idea the exact opposite of the truth (as all who have really studied the matter know full well), but the omission of the Epistle and Gospel is a great practical loss to the people. It might be possible to restore the ancient (and valuable) part of our Ante-Communion Service to more frequent use, if a more concise Litany were provided as an alternative to our

present one, but *with the condition attached* that when used in the morning it should always be followed by the Collect, Epistle and Gospel, the latter part of the Communion Service being added when required. Further, since it is to be hoped that an ever-increasing number of the faithful will learn to attend an early Communion Service, it would be well to permit an alternative series of Eucharistic Scripture-lessons, so that those who attend both early and mid-day services need not hear the same Epistle and Gospel read on both occasions. A most suitable series of such lessons (a series almost entirely independent of our present series) might be taken from the ancient Mozarabic or Ambrosian rites, which possess not only an Epistle and Gospel but a Prophetic lesson as well.

Alteration in the Communion Service introduces a thorny subject. Every improvement asked for by High Churchmen would be viewed with the greatest suspicion in the opposite quarter, however innocent of any doctrinal meaning it might be. Conservatism would be at a maximum, and there would be the greatest difficulty in carrying even the simplest and most unexceptionable improvements. And if, by a miracle, High Churchmen succeeded in obtaining every alteration that they desired, the result would not be satisfactory to them, or at least ought not to be so, for at the end of all we should not have a primitive liturgy but (at the best) only a modern liturgy constructed (more or less) on primitive lines—an imitation and not the genuine thing. It would be better frankly to abandon all attempt to reform our present Communion Service from the High Church standpoint. Let the Evangelical party propose what reforms in it they desire, and let these receive favourable consideration. In due course an alternative 'Liturgy' might be prepared and permitted, which would be more congenial to the legitimate wishes of High Churchmen.

What alterations in the Communion Service might be demanded by Low Churchmen, or what changes might be generally accepted by all parties? The first demand would probably be for permission to omit the Commandments or to substitute our Lord's summary of them; but if this



suggestion were referred to a committee of liturgical experts, the substitution of the summary would certainly be rejected. The Commandments might well be reduced in length. At present not only are the Commandments themselves said, but the promise annexed to one and the reasons affixed for others are added to the Commandments. 'Thou shalt not covet' has excellent Scriptural authority as a version of the tenth Commandment, and the others might be shortened in a similar fashion. The prayer for the King is entirely superfluous; and it is a mere matter of printing to transfer the first two exhortations to some more convenient position in the Prayer Book. Again, there is probably no 'High Church practice' which causes deeper anxiety than the interpolation of the principal part of the Roman Canon of the Mass by way of private devotions before and after the Consecration prayer. There is one way (and one way only) in which this objectionable practice could be effectually and finally abolished. If the Low Church party would propose that the rubric which is now before the prayer of Consecration should be transferred to a position before 'Lift up your hearts,' and that a rubric should be placed after the Sanctus '*Here shall follow immediately*—“Holy art thou, Almighty God, our Heavenly Father”' (and the rest of the Consecration prayer)—they would absolutely prevent the insertion of any part of the Roman Canon *before* the prayer of Consecration; and if they would propose that the prayer of Consecration should not stop as it does now, but should be continued thus: . . . 'in remembrance of me. Wherefore, O Lord and Heavenly Father, we thine unworthy servants, do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majesty the memorial which thy Son hath commanded us to make . . . entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness' (and the rest of the first Post-Communion prayer, with slight verbal alterations)—they would absolutely prevent the insertion of any part of the Roman Canon *after* this prayer. There is only one difficulty—what to do with the Prayer of Humble Access. This was removed from its original position after the Consecration because it was said by the priest kneeling, and this was taken

by some as an act of adoration of the Sacrament ; but surely the same result might have been more effectually obtained by leaving the prayer in its original position and simply *ordering it to be said standing*—which would be also in better accord with ancient practice. Failing this, some other position could be found for this prayer.

The singular thing about this method of preventing an abuse is that it would not be resented by High Churchmen, but the contrary ! We fear that so sensible a proposal is not likely to come from the Low Church party ; but if they really wish to do away with this abuse, they ought to be willing to fill up the gap which has invited such staunch Anglicans as Bishop Wilson and Archbishop Benson to fill it up with devotions of some kind.

What should be the character of an 'Alternative Liturgy' which should commend itself to High Churchmen ? They should not aim at a partisan liturgy nor at anything which would be open to any reasonable imputation of a partisan character. The only thing which ought to satisfy them would be the restoration of some primitive liturgy, of course with those necessary adaptations which would be required to fit it to the circumstances of the present day. Neither the liturgy from the First Prayer Book of Edward VI nor the Scottish Liturgy would be good enough for the purpose, for these are only modern liturgies on (more or less) primitive lines, and not really ancient liturgies. What is wanted is a liturgy which is not only *in accordance with* primitive Christianity, but is itself at bottom a really ancient liturgy ; and in adapting this to modern use there must be no tampering with its primitive character, no insertion of modern fads or deletion of primitive language. And yet, *this liturgy must be such that it could be used not only by High Churchmen but by Low Churchmen and Broad Churchmen*. Is it possible to combine these requirements—to provide a liturgy which should be thoroughly primitive and yet include no language which could give reasonable offence to Low Churchmen ? We are sure of it. There are only two points about which there would be any difficulty—prayer for the departed, and

the Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements. The first point is already passing beyond the bounds of any party, and there are many staunch Evangelicals who would not object to such a prayer as that habitually used by Bishop Wilson 'that such as are dead in the Lord may rest in hope and rise in glory,'<sup>1</sup> and (at worst) any such prayer might be provided with an alternative. The Invocation might run (with excellent ancient precedent), 'that they' (*i.e.* the elements) 'may become *unto us* the Body and Blood of Christ.' Or, if that were insufficient, no great exception would be taken to some such an amplification as 'that they may become unto us *the spiritual food of* the Body and Blood of Christ.'<sup>2</sup>

If an 'alternative liturgy' were provided on these lines (without any other irritating terms, or the title of 'the Mass'), we believe that its intrinsic excellence would soon bring it into general favour, and that it would greatly assist in justifying the claim of our Church to set forth Primitive Christianity.

Besides this, any alternative liturgy must be kept in an appendix, outside the Prayer Book proper (and so not requiring 'subscription' from candidates for Holy Orders), until all suspicions are allayed and general acceptance secured.

But when and by whom is this 'primitive liturgy' to be edited? Not yet, we hope, for we may anticipate in the near future a very large increase in our knowledge and understanding of the early liturgies. In another twenty years

<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. Matthew Brass, Vicar of St. Matthew's, Redhill, at a 'Clerical and Lay' Meeting, said that Evangelicals would not object to prayers for the dead if these went no further than the prayer quoted. The Dean of Canterbury in a recent speech in Convocation seemed to favour greater liberty than at present in this respect, and to be well disposed towards such rearrangement as that indicated above.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Sodor and Man in *How we got our Prayer Book*, p. 56, note 2, accepts this phrasing as admitting of a sense that would be satisfactory to Evangelicals. High Churchmen can accept the phrasing also, though they will not understand it in the same sense as the Bishop.

it may be that liturgical scholars will feel able to undertake the task: at present they counsel delay. And when the task is undertaken, we should wish that the first step should be tentative. The Archbishops might possibly have power given them to authorize the use of one or more primitive liturgies in different churches or chapels; and thus these liturgies would be tested by actual use, before they were proposed for general acceptance.<sup>1</sup>

A very important element (and perhaps the most practical element) in any revision of the Prayer Book at the present time must be the very necessary reform of the Lectionary. The matter is so important that no amount of pains should be considered too great to take, in order that

<sup>1</sup> Other additional services might be placed in such an appendix. But, if such additional services are to be compiled with no greater liturgical knowledge than the services at present put forth by authority, we hope that no attempt will be made to stereotype these services to the exclusion of other services, or to the hampering of Episcopal liberty in the matter. It would be a piece of wanton folly to shut us up to Bishop Andrewes' service for the Consecration of a Church (great improvement as that was upon previous forms), now that hopeful attempts are being made towards a really primitive service for this purpose. Of course there are always people who are afraid of any new departure of the kind and want to stamp on it; but these people of timid counsels ought not to be listened to for a moment.

How is it that all the services put forth by authority—whether these be memorial services for a dead sovereign, or Missionary Litanies or special services for such societies as the C.E.M.S. or the G.F.S.—with hardly an exception offend against the most elementary liturgical rules, and generally in points which could be put right without offending anyone? Whom do the authorities consult? Surely it is worth while to avoid liturgical solecisms, just as we would avoid solecisms in the architecture of our churches. Of course it is open to our authorities to despise the liturgical art, just as it is open to them to despise architecture; but to educated men it will seem worth while to 'do things right' while we are about it, and doubly so where the question of cost does not enter into the matter as it necessarily enters into the question of good architecture. Those who are learned in liturgies would (we are confident) be only too pleased to assist in the matter, but *they do not appear to be asked*.



the Church of England may possess a Table of Lessons as perfect and edifying as it is possible to make it. But before any liturgical committee can get to useful work upon it, there are certain broad questions of a general character which ought to be carefully considered and decided in advance before the strictly liturgical work can be begun. One of the most obvious blots in our present system is the haphazard character of the second lessons which happen to be read on ordinary Sundays—due to the fact that Morning and Evening Prayer on Sundays were intended and expected to be nothing but subsidiary services; and indeed not specially Sunday services at all, but services attended every day by the bulk of the congregation. Now that a large proportion of our people attend no service but Morning or Evening Prayer on Sundays, it is necessary to provide the most edifying Scriptures for an only semi-Christian congregation, although by doing so the Church must not be understood to acquiesce in the idea that either Morning or Evening Prayer is ‘the regular Sunday Service.’ Consequently it is an absolute necessity in any useful scheme (1) that proper second lessons should be provided for Sundays, and (2) that the proper first lessons for Sundays should be chosen so as to be as edifying as possible to simple Christians and the semi-Christian portion of our laity. How sadly a great opportunity is missed when such a congregation is fed with a chapter out of the Prophets which is absolutely unintelligible to them, and with a chapter out of the Epistle to the Romans full of abstruse doctrines which are quite beyond their spiritual digestion. The babes cry out for milk, and are offered nothing but strong meat which is too solid to afford them nourishment.

A necessary corollary to the foregoing will be the alteration of our system of daily lessons. It is indeed a shameful example of our unpractical conservatism that we should have continued so long to use two inconsistent lesson-systems, the use of which is in direct contradiction to one of the first aims of our reformers, *viz.* the continuous reading of Holy Scripture. Our double system lands us in ridiculous and unedifying results: for

example, one of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams may be read on Saturday evening, and this be followed (on Monday morning) by the explanation of a different dream: we stop on Saturday evening in the middle of a story of which we never hear the end, or on Monday morning we are launched into the middle of a story of which we have not read the beginning! No revision of the Lectionary will be worthy of acceptance unless this whole state of confusion be remedied, and the only remedy for it is to revert to the universal ancient method of arrangement of lessons according to the days of the week instead of according to the days of the month. There are lectionaries arranged on this system in Irvingite, Lutheran and other prayer books, but these are doubtless unknown to the members of our Committees of Convocation, and the case may be still as it was in 1870, when no member of the Committee which revised the Lectionary thought it worth while to study the lesson-systems of either the ancient liturgies or of the present-day services of other Christian bodies.

Again, the preparation of a new Lectionary ought to be preceded by the consideration of our Epistles and Gospels, and the question ought to be asked whether any alteration is to be made in our present red-letter Saints' days; for the proper lessons for Sundays ought to bear as definite a relation as possible to the Epistles and Gospels, and it will certainly happen in some cases that a chapter may be omitted from the daily course because it has been appointed for a proper lesson either on a Sunday or Saint's day. There will doubtless be (and rightly) a unanimous feeling against anything like a drastic alteration of the Epistles and Gospels, which are consecrated by the use of more than a thousand years; but without anything of this nature, there are a few modest reforms which need cause no alarm. Several of the passages selected for Saints' days have no prestige of venerable antiquity, being chosen at or since the Reformation, and some of these are not the happiest selections that might have been made. Again, there is a crying need for the restoration of a few of the ancient Epistles and Gospels that have been abandoned, as, for

example, those for an early Communion on the great festivals. The Baptism of our Lord and the Transfiguration<sup>1</sup> are great events in our Lord's life which have lost their annual commemoration in this way. And besides this, the reformers lengthened certain of these Epistles and Gospels, sometimes with better and sometimes with a worse effect. Such conservative reforms as these might well be considered. We have spoken above on the advantage of an alternative series of Epistles and Gospels, to be taken from another primitive rite.

It is now generally recognized that we ought to have proper lessons for the 'first evensongs' of all festivals; and indeed it is the practically universal custom of antiquity that the 'first evensong' should be considered of far more importance than the 'second evensong' (*i.e.* evensong 'on the day itself' according to our modern reckoning, because the Christian day, like the Jewish, was reckoned from sunset to sunset). But it is difficult to find really appropriate lessons for several of our Saints' days: we know next to nothing about the Apostles St. Simon or St. Jude, or St. Philip or St. James, or St. Bartholomew. For such days as these (if proper Mattins and Evensong for them be retained at all), when no really appropriate proper lessons can be chosen, we would revert to the use of the ferial lessons, and if there be but *one* appropriate second lesson, we should assign that to the first evensong. Such a course as this would be the more commendable if the ferial lessons were arranged (as suggested) according to the days of the week.

It is contrary to ancient principle to allow Proper Psalms to be continually breaking the 'course' of the Psalter. When once the 'course' has been suspended—

<sup>1</sup> The festival of the Transfiguration on August 6 is a very late innovation in the liturgies of the West; and we believe that almost all liturgical scholars strongly deprecate the revival of it proposed by some who know 'a little' about liturgies. The ancient commemoration of the Transfiguration belonged to the Dominical Year (*viz.* to the second Sunday in Lent) and not to the Calendar. See the original Gospel for that Sunday.

as, for example, for such a day as Good Friday—there is no harm in suspending it for a number of consecutive days, as, *e.g.*, in appointing Proper Psalms for all the days of Holy week and Easter week; but it would be contrary to the *raison d'être* of a 'course' to appoint Proper Psalms for any occasional days, such as Saints' days, except on the most important occasions. The Epiphany appears to be the only additional festival which needs Proper Psalms.

There are many other points which might be touched on, as for example the provision of a series of services for the instruction of catechumens, so necessary in our fields of missionary labour; and it is impossible to enter upon the vast field of improvements in wording, which ought not to be neglected, but which would require a separate article to itself. The necessary preliminary to any fruitful reform is the cultivation of mutual confidence between the different parties in the Church; and this can only be effected by drawing a clear line of demarcation between alterations that affect points of doctrine and principle, and all others that are only liturgical and practical, clearly separating the one class of alterations from the other. Above all, let there be no haste in either matter. If we are to have a liturgical revision, let the public opinion have a fair chance to form a weighty opinion upon all novel proposals, instead of impatiently rejecting things that have not been tried. Let us prove all things *by a fair trial*, and then we shall be able to hold fast that which is good.

W. C. BISHOP.

## ART. V.—THE TRAINING AND EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ORDERS.

- I. *The Supply and Training of Candidates for Holy Orders.* Report, with Notes, Appendices and Recommendations, presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Committee appointed by His Grace . . . to consider the Question of the Supply and Training of Candidates for the Sacred Ministry. (Poole: W. H. Hunt. 1908.)



2. *Report of the Ninth Conference on the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders.* Held at King's College, London, on April 21st and 22nd, 1909. For Private Circulation only. (Westminster: J. B. Nichols and Sons. 1909.)
3. *Preliminary Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders.* Papers set April and October 1909, and April 1910. (Cambridge: Deighton Bell and Co. Oxford: Parker and Son.)
4. *Lecture Outlines on the Thirty-nine Articles.* By ARTHUR J. TAIT, B.D., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Liverpool. (London: Elliot Stock. 1910.)
5. *Absente Reo.* By the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia.* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1910.)

THOSE who have read the articles which we published in our last number on the 'Training and Examination of Candidates for Orders' will have realized how difficult a problem the subject presents at the present time. Everyone seems to have different suggestions to make, and there is a great deal of criticism of the existing method; but there seems very little agreement as to what should be done, and we doubt whether many of those who have suggestions to make have really thought out the problem completely.

It may be interesting to sketch in the beginning two or three causes of the difficulty. One lies in the haphazard system which has so far prevailed in the Church. It has been in the past both the strength and weakness of the Church of England that in this and in other directions there has been so little system in its methods. For a long time a very large proportion, almost the whole number, of those ordained were members of one of the older Universities. They had obtained a degree in Arts, and were to a certain extent cultivated and educated men, but they had little acquaintance with theology, and no particular training for the work that they were undertaking. The majority of these candidates produced the average country parson of the Church of England. They were usually kindly gentlemen,

wise in parochial work, with a good deal of sympathy for the life of their parishioners, but not good preachers, and not remarkable for any particular professional capacity. Starting on this type as a basis, the various movements which have influenced the Church of England have produced a body of men keenly interested in the particular theology and tenets of their own school, devoted to the special work which it suggests, but without any wide basis of theological training which might enable them to criticize or to widen the opinions they have learnt from their party. Then there was a third class—Fellows of Colleges and others, who devoted themselves seriously to the study of theology from the highest motives, and who became in some instances learned, able and broad-minded theologians.

This system has been gradually changing. The supply of candidates from the Universities has become smaller. The chief reason for this is the fact that the two Universities which were able to supply the needs of a country with about eight millions of people are quite inadequate for the wider and imperial responsibilities of the present day. The country is four times as populous as it was, and the demand for men for the government of Great Britain, India and the Colonies, for the many new professions which modern discoveries have created, and for keeping up the supply for the older professions has become very great. It is not only the clerical profession which is understocked, but it is equally the case with regard to the schools. The supply of good masters is not increasing with the demand for them. Another change has been the growth of the Theological Colleges, graduate and non-graduate. Here again there has been a singular want of system. Colleges have been started with little or no authority, and with no control. They are often very small. The staff is quite inadequate for training in theology. How is it possible for two or three clergymen, however able, to cover properly so wide a field? But these Colleges have done much toward raising the standard of special training, and have helped in building up a

more lofty ideal of the clergyman's life. They have had, however, a tendency to be narrow, and to create a demand for what we may call 'good form' amongst the clergy, which has been mistaken for more important qualifications. Although there has been much good work done, there have been mistakes made, and the movement shews a singular absence of system. We do not believe that this is wholly harmful. We should dread the establishment of any stereotyped system of training. The problem, in fact, for the training of the clergy is very much the same as that for education in the country generally. It is recognized that we want more system, less waste, less effort thrown away on aimless experiments, but at the same time we wish to keep something of the spontaneousness and variety which has prevailed.

The second main cause of the difficulties of the present day is undoubtedly the transitional state of people's views on theological subjects. The immense variety of thought, the successive waves of criticism, the many intellectual difficulties which the clergyman ought to be able to meet and deal with—all these demand high qualifications. The great bulk of the people are becoming, if not educated, at any rate half educated. They are less willing to put up with the dull sermon which did not touch any of the realities of life. There are a hundred questions which they look upon now as open which were once closed. The demand on the time, energy and thought of the clergyman, as in fact on the members of almost every profession, is very much greater than it was fifty or a hundred years ago. If a clergyman is not working hard, he must at any rate have the appearance of being active, and many of the best men find their time frittered away in a good deal of aimless activity. There are three or four conflicting ideals of clerical life, and there are three or four conflicting lines of theological development. The problem is becoming far more complicated than it was. How complicated is shewn by the inadequacy of the suggestions which have so far been made for its remedy.

We shall have to return to this subject later. At present

it is enough to say that while the educational authorities of the country generally are beginning to discover how imperfect is the examination system, we are threatened in relation to the training for Orders with an extension of an examination system which is already organized in an inferior way, but which it is desired to make more rigid and more extensive in its application. We propose, therefore, in the following article to discuss the various suggestions which have been made, and to try to shew on what lines we believe that development should take place. We believe that the times demand a far better trained minister than past periods were content with, and we want to attain that without sacrificing any of the spontaneousness, independence and vigour of thought which has been the result of the older system on its better side.

## I.

It will be convenient first of all to consider certain phases of the present system. Nothing further is required at present of a University graduate than that he should pass his Bishop's Examination, although in many cases strong pressure would be put upon him to go to one of the graduate Colleges. Except in certain special cases those who are non-graduate are expected to pass what is called the Bishop's Central Entrance Examination before entering a Theological College, are then required to stay two years at a College, and cannot be ordained until they have passed the examination which now goes by the name of the Universities' Preliminary. No inquiry, or hardly any inquiry, is made as to the character of the teaching in the Colleges. The result is tested and tested only by the examinations, and if we examine these they will not suggest a very high standard of efficiency.

Writing with considerable knowledge of the Central Entrance Examination, we are bound to say that it is one of the worst examinations with which we are acquainted. It was designed to secure that those who are going to be ordained should have some preliminary training before they



began their theological work. Unfortunately it is not very successful. We do not wish to say that it does not represent in certain directions an improvement on what happened in the case of certain Colleges before. We believe that its introduction led to the closing of one College which was conducted in a manner not very creditable to the Church of England. On the other hand, in the case of certain other Colleges it has probably lowered the standard of entrance. At any rate, as an examination it has the reputation of being the easiest of all Entrance Examinations. We have known several cases of those who have passed it without any real knowledge of either Greek or Latin. They have learned their books by heart. Nor does it imply anything which can be called intellectual culture. The English history can only be learned by those who do not know it before by pure 'cram' out of a small text-book. The Old Testament is acquired in much the same way. Many of those who are ordained as non-graduates are older men who have not had very great advantages in their earlier life. Whatever should be required of them, they ought to be taught in a manner suitable to their age, not as schoolboys ; but the Central Entrance Examination is simply a schoolboy examination—a very bad schoolboy examination. Its chief merit is that it presents an obstacle which it requires a certain amount of determination to overcome, and therefore it deters a considerable number of unsuitable persons from ever being ordained.

The Universities' Preliminary is a very much better examination, so far as we are able to judge, although the present writer cannot speak of it with any great personal knowledge ; but its effect upon the Theological Colleges is not, on the whole, good. The whole force of their teaching must be directed, in the case of the weaker men, to enable them to pass the examination, and in many cases the examination shews that candidates have got up a certain number of answers which they will produce whether they are quite relevant or not. The further disadvantage, it must be remembered, of such an examination is that it stereotypes the subjects of teaching. The one consideration

that must be put before everyone is that unless he can pass the examination he cannot be ordained. If he can pass he will be ordained. The obvious result in the case of the weaker students is that they cannot be expected to attend to any subject except such as are necessary for passing the examination. The effect, therefore, is to destroy originality of outlook, to compel everyone to work within a limited sphere, to work not with the view of mastering theological problems but with the view of answering questions. One able teacher has stated that the advice he gives to his pupils is three months before the examination to forget all that he has taught them and get up questions and subjects necessary for passing.

Recognizing how very much the training will be limited by the character of the examination, we turn to the papers to see what is taught and what is required, and if we consider what should be required from clergymen at the present day we shall be shocked at the result. A quotation from a thoughtful book which happens recently to have come into our hands will put the problem before us very clearly.

' Since our last time of great spiritual revival in the Church came with the Oxford Movement, a large amount of new evidence has transpired with regard to the source and history of some of the doctrines that most affect our notions concerning sin and its cure. This new evidence is gradually filtering down into the mind of the common Englishman. All the new knowledge, rationally considered, may not disprove any of the dogmas you consider essential to Christianity. I am not saying that any one of them will be disproved, but I do say that every one of them must certainly come into the court of reason again for a new trial, that its advocates must take a new line of argument if they would have it vindicated, that they must urge different authorities, and set facts in array before the minds of the jury in fresh light. Consider that new family who have come to live at "The Meadows"; they do not go to any place of worship. What a fine young couple they are! What a sturdy family of young Britons they are rearing! They have wealth and leisure; and they lounge by the river on Sundays and read the *Hibbert Journal*. And then, at that rose-embowered cottage at Park End, where you used to have such faithful adherents,

who are the new tenants? Two literary ladies, who sometimes come to evensong on a week-day, but never to the Eucharist or to hear you preach. And as you go through your little town, how many of the young artisans, how many of the working men, can you count among your Sunday congregation? Do you remember the shrewd-looking cobbler whom we found reading Wells' *New Worlds for Old* to a knot of them? only a few—the rest were in the public house. But they all turned out that evening when the Socialist orator came to talk. Then there is the well-to-do draper who married the pretty American; they have drawn away quite a little clique to a meeting where something akin to faith-healing is practised.' <sup>1</sup>

Now anyone who is acquainted with the religious attitude of a large proportion of the more cultivated people of the country will recognize that the above account is not in the least exaggerated. This mental attitude is very well reflected in the *Hibbert Journal*. We refer to that journal, not from any particular respect for its contents, but because it clearly represents ideas which are widely circulated. This attitude is not in the least irreligious. It implies, in fact, great interest in religion. It implies a wide superficial knowledge of a great deal of modern thought. The attitude is one of inquiry rather than of unbelief.

With this in our minds we turn to the papers set in the Preliminary Examination, and we shall find that a candidate for Orders who has been trained to answer these papers and to answer them well need not have acquired any knowledge which will help him to deal with problems of the day. Not the slightest knowledge is required either of Old or New Testament criticism, there is no Philosophy in the papers, there is no Psychology, and there is no knowledge of Comparative Religions. There is hardly any reference to problems which science has created. The Theological Exegesis and the History represent a state of mind thirty or forty years old. And this examination is put forward by the authorities of the Church as representing the intellectual attainments necessary for Orders. We do not of course mean that there are no Colleges which train

<sup>1</sup> *Absente Reo*, p. 125.

their students better than this examination implies, but we know that in many cases it is impossible that the candidates should do anything beyond the sphere of this examination. That means that we are sending out into the world clergy as little fitted to meet the demand of the present day as would be a soldier armed with a Martini-Henry against an army with the new magazine rifle. The examination gives us the idea of a stereotyped and antiquated method of instruction.

The result of this may be illustrated by a remark which was made to the present writer a short time ago by a distinguished medical man. All his sympathies were on the side of the Church and religion, but he asked why it was that one hardly ever met a clergyman who seemed to be able to defend and expound his teaching in a logical manner, and in a way which would convince anyone in such a position as himself. If he accepted beliefs, it would be rather out of respect for the character of those who held them than for any reason that they could give him for doing so.

The other examination test is that afforded by the Bishops' Examinations in the different dioceses. These are all modelled on the lines of the Universities' Preliminary. They vary in character considerably; sometimes excellent papers are set, sometimes most inadequate ones. But they have the advantage of not being conducted on such rigid lines as the Universities' Preliminary. The personal element comes in largely, and they do not to the same extent hamper the work of those who prepare for them. The graduate Theological Colleges, dealing on the whole with a stronger set of men than the non-graduate Colleges, are able to be much freer in their teaching, and in many cases we know that every effort is being made to meet the situation which exists at the present time; but we must add that there is nothing to help them to do this in any official attitude. It would be quite possible to pass, we believe, any Bishop's Examination without being in the slightest degree fitted for dealing with the problems of the day, provided a certain amount of purely formal knowledge had been acquired.



We might take one more illustration of the difficulty created by the present situation. We have received a copy of an analysis of the Thirty-nine Articles by Mr. Tait, of Ridley Hall. In the Preface he puts before us the difficulties he has met in lecturing. He has a lofty and proper ideal of his work. He tells us that at Ridley their Library is their text-book, but he has found himself obliged to give these formal lectures on the Thirty-nine Articles. 'The result is,' he says, 'that I have found myself year after year taking up the time of the class in dictating the outlines of study, and leaving myself too little time for the discussion of the more important matters which require careful and prolonged treatment.' The analysis is undoubtedly carefully and ably done, but we are quite certain that it ought never to have been necessary for it to be delivered in lectures, certainly in a graduate College of the standing of Ridley Hall, and this serves as an illustration of what we know happens in other Colleges, without the sense of inadequacy which Mr. Tait has so wisely expressed.

It has been necessary to dwell at a considerable length on the inadequacy of the present examinations, because, as we shall see, it is proposed by certain of the Bishops to make this system compulsory and uniform for every candidate for Orders.

## II.

And so we now turn to the proposals which have been made for remedying the present position. The first is the resolution which has been passed by the Upper House of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury to the effect that all candidates for Orders must after the year 1917 be graduates of some University. With the general scope and purpose of this resolution we are strongly in agreement. We certainly think that as many as possible of those who are to be ordained should have received a University degree; but we are quite convinced that this is not a practicable policy at present, and that it is not likely to be so for some time to come. It ought, no doubt, to be our

aim in most cases, but, put in the drastic form in which the Bishops have put it, it is already causing considerable uneasiness, and may cause serious difficulties. After all, it must be remembered that the work of the Church has to go on: a great deal of that work can be done well by men who are not necessarily graduates.

The first difficulty of the proposal is that a degree means such different things in different Universities. At Oxford or Cambridge a pass degree does not represent a very high standard of attainment. At Durham a degree can be acquired in two years, and the standard is still lower. In London the standard for the pass degree is much higher. A very considerable number of those who have been ordained with degrees from Oxford or Cambridge would fail even to pass the London Matriculation. The standard of the London pass B.D. is probably equal to that of second class in honours at Oxford and represents a very considerable attainment. With this variation in standard it is obvious that such a regulation will work very unfortunately in different cases. The writer may be allowed to quote his own experiences at King's College. A certain number of graduates from Oxford and Cambridge come to us for their theological course. Some of those who have obtained their degree fail to obtain the Associateship of the College at the end of one year, and at the end of two years take quite a low position in the examinations. They are obviously inferior to a very large number of men who would not find it possible or would find very great difficulty in taking a London degree.

The second difficulty in pressing a degree course on all candidates for Orders arises in the case of the older men. It would, in the case of those who have perhaps spent ten years of their life in business or some other profession, and who would make useful clergy of the Church of England, be a waste of time to ask them to go through an ordinary school course to prepare for Orders. They want just as thorough a training, but they want it on different lines. Their interest is in theology, and they should begin with the subject in which they are really interested. There is

a good deal of wisdom in Fr. Kelly's maxim that you should train a man by the subjects in which he is interested. This is being found to be the case in many other directions. We do not believe, then, that the proposal of the Bishops is practical. We shall suggest later on the steps which should be taken to make it more so.

The second proposal is that there should be one examination compulsorily imposed upon every candidate for Orders, an examination for which the Universities' Preliminary is taken as a model. The reason for making this proposal is the chaotic condition in which the examinations for Orders are at present. Nearly every Bishop has his examination at a different time, and in many of the Colleges the whole of the last term of the course is broken up by the continually recurring examinations. Moreover, a large number of Bishops' Examining Chaplains, not specially fitted in many cases for the work, are doing in about thirty centres what it is alleged might very well be done in one centre. Candidates from non-graduate Colleges have to pass within a few weeks first their Preliminary and then their Bishop's Examination. It is suggested, and there is a certain plausibility in it, that if there were an examination conducted three or four times a year by a central body everyone could go in for this. There would be the certainty that a minimum qualification was attained, and the whole work would be very much simplified. The proposal is defended by the analogy of the medical profession. It is stated that in that profession everyone must necessarily pass an examination, and that gives the public some confidence in the training of the medical man: a confidence they have not in the case of the clergy. Now, it is perfectly true that medical men are very much better trained than the clergy, but an important thing to remember is that the emphasis is in their case laid not on the examination but on the training. The only general examination that there is for medical men is that for the Conjoint Board, and many of those who are interested in medical examinations are not very enthusiastic in its favour. The really important point is that every medical man must be trained for not

less than four years in institutions and under teachers who have been approved by the General Medical Council.

We believe that this proposal for one universal examination would be disastrous to good training for Orders. It is just the sort of proposal which a 'good organizer' would make. It seems so simple and so excellent, and yet it would have the effect of destroying all vitality and life among those who train candidates for Orders. Anyone who has had some insight into the working of the University of London must know how detrimental to teaching has been the rigid system of external examinations in that University. Training for Orders, whatever its faults, has been freed from the incubus of over-organization, and to impose a system like this just at the time when education generally in the country is entering on a more healthy phase would be a retrograde step. No doubt the examination might be made more comprehensive than the Universities' Preliminary, but it would always have to be of a purely pass character, the standard of attainment required would have to be kept low, and the weaker men, who are just those who require the best teaching, would find it necessary to cram for it. The work would be systematized, and all places of training for Orders would quickly lose their interest in what would be entirely routine work.

### III,

The real mistake which is made in all these proposals is that stress is laid upon examination instead of upon adequate training. The essential thing in preparation for Orders, certainly for the weaker men, is that they should receive good intellectual and spiritual training. If they receive that for two or three years it will make them much more fit for their work as clergymen than if they have passed several examinations. Take the case of a non-graduate who wishes to [read] for Orders. What he is directed to do now is to pass the Central Entrance Examination. If he wishes to do this in the easiest way he will go to some



coaching establishment, or take a private coach. He will grind hard for two or three months and then very likely will get through. It will be creditable to his industry and perseverance, but he will not gain much more. Supposing the same man were to go to a College connected with a University. Suppose during that time he were to have really good teaching in Latin and Greek, that he were to attend lectures given by able Professors on English History, on some scientific subject, upon Ancient History, and were steadily to do a series of English Essays, he would have made real progress in his intellectual training. No doubt it would be necessary to give him some test at the end to see how he had profited by his work, but the very fact that he had industriously gone through such a course would mean a very great advance in intellectual attainment.

Or we may illustrate our thesis by the recent advances which have been made in the training for Orders. The first great advance was the establishment of the graduate Theological Colleges. These Colleges may have their defects, but they certainly have introduced a very much higher standard of what is required. They were not established to prepare for examinations, but to prepare for Orders. Owing to the fact that it is for the Bishops' Examinations that they have to prepare, which are not conducted on very rigid lines, they have never had to trouble themselves much about examinations, and in many cases they have been free to give, and have given good theological teaching and training. Or take one or two of the interesting experiments which have been made lately. Mirfield has not been established to enable people to pass examinations, but to carry out a certain ideal of training. Kelham is certainly not designed to prepare for any examination, yet the intellectual training that is given there is thoroughly inspiring and original, and we have had the testimony of various Bishops to the effect that the men who have been trained there have done their work admirably. Everyone who is concerned with such matters knows what Fr. Kelly's opinion of the Universities' Preliminary is. The

writer may refer for one moment to King's College. Whatever merits there may be in our training arise from the fact that we conduct our own examinations, that is to say, we make examinations dependent upon teaching, and not teaching upon examinations ; that we are able to introduce new subjects into our course ; that we have been able to work out our own ideal of what training should be. It may, we believe, be laid down that almost all of the best work in training for Orders in the Church of England has been done independently of any examination system.

The direction, then, upon which improvement in the training for Orders should be made is on lines of training and not examination, and this includes two things : it includes the provision of suitable Colleges and courses of training, easily accessible to all those who desire to be ordained, and it implies that the principal regulation of the Bishops should be that they should insist on the candidate for Orders having gone through some suitable course.

As regards the first of these, the provision of courses, there are two developments essential at the present time. We have said above that we do not think that the time has come, and we doubt whether it will ever come, for insisting upon a University degree as compulsory for all who wish to be ordained, but we are quite convinced that what is required is the development of theological instruction in a University, or at any rate in a University atmosphere. First as to our older Universities. What we should ask is that the Professors at Oxford and Cambridge should provide a good two years' course of post-graduate training for Orders. That is really the old University idea. Whether or no the existence of a theological course for the B.A. degree is or is not desirable we do not wish to discuss, nor do we at present wish to propose any change so far as that is concerned. What we ask is that the University Professors of Divinity should organize a proper course for those who have taken their degree. Oxford has a Professor of Pastoral Theology, and it should be his business to see that there was adequate instruction given in elocution, composition of sermons, in preaching, in music, and in all

the practical part of the work. The other Professors would give lectures, or would provide that lectures should be given, covering the wider field of theological learning. At the end of two years a testimonial would be given to the effect that the candidate for Orders had attended a sufficient course of instruction and had passed such examinations as should be considered requisite. The abler men would, of course, work for the B.D., the system of which at Oxford should be reformed. We do not mean to say that everyone from Oxford or Cambridge who wishes to read for Orders should remain at the University. We believe that for some the graduate Theological Colleges would provide a proper training, but certainly a very large number of them ought to be able to get their teaching in their own University.

But even more important than the older Universities is the establishment and development of a proper course in connexion with the newer Universities which are being founded throughout the country. The provision should be twofold. In the first place, residential hostels should be provided in connexion with the Church of England where students for Orders and others could reside while they were going through the Arts course of the University. Then, secondly, a Theological College should be founded with an able staff of teachers, many of whom would become teachers in the University, and would help to build up a Theological Faculty in the University. Such an institution would form a stronghold for religious life, where such is needed. Some church or chapel in the neighbourhood would be attached to the Theological College or Hostel, regular services would be provided, and a body of clergy and teachers would be secured who would be able to give instruction in theology for others besides those anxious to be ordained. It must be remembered that in every case where anything of the sort has been attempted it has been received with great friendliness by the University. Manchester has already founded its Faculty of Theology, and we are glad that a beginning has been made in the foundation of an Anglican College in connexion with it,

although the work is at present only rudimentary and the Church of England is represented far less efficiently than the Nonconformists. At Liverpool St. Aidan's has connected itself as closely as it can with the local University, and friendliness has been shewn towards it. At Leeds Mirfield has a Hostel for students, but we should very much like to see that an attempt was made to provide theological teaching within the atmosphere of the University. It is, to an outsider at any rate, a disastrous misfortune that little attempt has been made to develop Queen's College at Birmingham in connexion with the University. A great opportunity is open to the Church of England in the University of Bristol. The Western Dioceses are at present very deficient in any local centres of training for Orders. It would be a great gain if they could combine together and found at Bristol in connexion with the new University a Hostel and Theological College for the training of candidates for Orders.

Perhaps one or two words might be said concerning the two different ideals which are represented by the small graduate Colleges on one side, and theological instruction in a University on the other side. There have been very great advantages in the graduate Colleges. There is a certain intensity of life about the better of them. They were certainly necessary at the time when they were started. There are many men for whom their system of instruction would be very much better than the freer life of the University; but for all that we do not believe that they represent the best ideal. Their staff is necessarily small. They cannot help representing only a single point of view. Just at the formative period of a man's intellectual life, when he is building up all his opinions, it is very much better that he should be able to hear different points of view. That does not necessarily mean that his own opinions will be indefinite or uncertain, but it will mean that he will hold his opinions in a very different way. He will have pondered over and considered the opposite point of view. He will have had it put before him with ability. He will be less likely to be shaken in his convictions later. His ideas will be broader and his



sympathies stronger. The teaching both of Cuddleston and Ridley is, we believe, excellent, but we should like to see the Cuddleston men able to spend a term at Ridley, and the Ridley men a term at Cuddleston.

Next, as to the requirements of the training. We think that normally Bishops should require from those graduates who are to be ordained a two years' Theological course after they have completed their Arts degree. This might be reduced to one year in the case of some of those who have read theology for their first degree. There should, we believe, be the widest range of choice as to where this theological training is acquired, provided that there is some guarantee that the institution is competent and suitable for the work. Then as to the non-graduate. We have given reasons for thinking that it will not be possible, and we do not think it would be desirable, to dispense with the non-graduate, but what is essential is that he should have had an adequate course of training. We believe that in all cases he should have, after passing an Entrance Examination, a three years' course, consisting partly of Arts and partly of Theology, and probably it ought to be preceded by a one year's course in Arts. But the point on which we should like to lay stress at this moment is, that if non-graduates are allowed it should be required that they should be trained not in the weakest Colleges but in the strongest, and trained by the side of those who are taking a graduate's course. Up to the present time in many instances the non-graduate College has been the weakest. If a College has not had sufficient reputation to attract graduates to itself, it has filled up its gaps by having those who are not graduates. The staff at such Colleges has often been very small, and not always of a very high standard of attainment.

#### IV.

So far we have spoken of improvements in training and in the requirements of training. We have insisted that this training should be made as efficient as possible, and that

the important thing is that the training should be efficient rather than the examination strict. But what guarantee, may we ask, have we that this training will be good? Are you going to do nothing to remedy the somewhat chaotic character of the Church of England system? We believe that a good deal might be done to bring system into our method of training for Orders, but it must not be by examinations.

What we should propose, in the first place, is the formation of a Central Council to supervise and direct the training of candidates for Orders. We should suggest that this Council might consist of about twenty-four members. Of these about six should be the representatives of the Bishops. About six might be laymen, elected by the Houses of Laymen for York and Canterbury. Another six might be the representatives of the Professors of the Universities, and another of the representatives of the Theological Colleges.

If such a Council were appointed, its first business would be to keep a register of all candidates for Orders. Anyone who wanted to be ordained should at once register himself as a candidate for Orders, and no one should be allowed to be ordained who had not been so registered for a certain length of time, and it would be the business of the secretary of the Council to keep a full record of every such candidate. How necessary this is anyone acquainted with our present system must know. It is only quite recently that two instances have come to the notice of the present writer of students who have been expelled from a Theological College attempting to obtain entrance at another College without revealing the fact of their expulsion. In both cases the fact has accidentally been detected, and the students have again been sent away. Still more serious is the fact that in one or two instances we have known of those whose record at Theological Colleges was not such as to fit them for Orders being ordained in a colonial diocese. If there were a central record kept, such things would be impossible. Each candidate would pay, say, £1 1s. on being registered, and that would provide a sufficient sum for the payment

of a secretary and for the provision of clerical work necessary for doing the business of the Council.

The next business of the Council would be to inspect and recognize the Theological Colleges and other courses provided for the training of candidates for Orders. All the modern educational experience is in favour of the very great value of inspection, provided it is carried out by men of sufficient experience and capacity. The Universities and University Colleges of England which are in receipt of a Treasury Grant are all inspected under the Treasury Committee, and it is the unanimous opinion of those bodies that it is an advantage in every way to be thus inspected. It is assumed, of course, that they desire to make themselves as efficient as possible, and nothing is more conducive to that than a visit from Inspectors who are acquainted with the work of other Colleges. They are enabled to point out defects, to make suggestions, and to help in the working out of the many difficult problems which confront the authorities. We do not know anything which would be better at the present time for the different Theological Colleges than the presence of competent inspectors, who would visit them and help in developing their work. It would be the business not only of the Central Council to inspect the Colleges, but also to recognize and approve all their courses. We have said that very great freedom and elasticity should be allowed in this matter. Kelham, Mirfield, and King's College are all very different. We believe them to be all good in their way. If the courses of instruction are approved and if the teachers are found to be competent, then it will be the business of the Central Council to appoint examiners, who, with the assistance of the staff of the College, shall conduct the examination of students.

We now come to the Bishop's Examinations. At the present time the Bishop examines in almost all the subjects which are taken at the different Colleges, and a great deal of the work that his Chaplains do is certainly work which should never be imposed upon them. If the system we have outlined above should be adopted, we believe that it will be

practically safe for the Bishops to accept the examinations of the Colleges and Universities as a sufficient guarantee of adequate academic training. They would then be free to conduct an examination of quite a different character which would enable them to discover the suitability of the candidate who presented himself for Orders. Their examination would be one on the Bible, on Church doctrine, and on the Prayer Book, but in no case would they consider it necessary to examine men in what we may style the academic side of the work. The ordinary work done in commentaries on the Greek Testament, the questions about the Prayer Book which can be answered from a careful study of *Proctor and Frere*, the regular work on Creeds and Articles would have been done. The questions asked would be such as would shew whether the candidate would be competent to use the Bible as a religious book, to expound the difficulties in it to his parishioners, to deal with all questions about criticism, and have a real knowledge of its contents as a spiritual guide. The examination on doctrine would be devoted to discovering how far he could expound his creed, how far he had built up for himself rules of life and faith, whether, in fact, he was a proper person for teaching sound doctrine to his parishioners. And so also with regard to the Prayer Book: it would be an examination in the Prayer Book as a guide to the private and corporate devotion of the people. Of course the Bishop would be free to examine either *viva voce* or by paper in anything which he required, but the fact that he might assume that there had been a proper instruction and a proper examination in the ordinary academic subjects would leave him free to conduct an examination of a very different kind from that which has prevailed hitherto.

We have in this article only been able to outline our proposals. We should not of course wish to insist upon details. The position at the present time is somewhat as follows. It is admitted that there is a want of system in the training for Orders in the Church of England. A proposal has been made to deal with that want of system



by the introduction of a rigid system of examinations. We believe that if that is done its effect will be most disastrous. It will stereotype and deaden teaching, it will destroy initiative, it will create a lifeless and inefficient system.

As an alternative it is suggested that a Council should be created for the superintendence of training for Orders ; that it should be the primary business of this Council to secure that adequate institutions should be provided for training for Orders, especially in connexion with our Universities ; that these should be strong, and well equipped, with an adequate and sufficiently paid staff. Each institution should be free to develop its own course, subject only to the approval of the central body ; they should with the assistance of external examiners examine their own students. The central body should inspect them, should approve the courses, and appoint the examiners. The Bishops then, when the time for the ordination examination came, could assume that there had been a considerable academic training, and would be able to examine each in his own way to see whether the candidate for Orders were fitted and suitable for the work. We believe that the latter system, which will substitute training and inspection for examination, will produce much better trained men, that it will encourage individuality and initiative in the teachers, that it will enable them to place all their work on a very much higher level, to teach their students as intelligent men preparing for a lofty purpose and not as candidates for a pass examination, that it will enable time to be devoted to practical training, that it will keep steadily before all who are concerned—teachers and students alike—that their aim is the lofty one of preparing for a great spiritual calling, to be ministers of the Gospel of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

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## ART. VI.—THE ASSYRIAN CHURCH.

1. *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*. In qua MSS. Cod. Syriacos, Arabicos, Persicos, Turcicos, Hebraicos, Samaritanos, Armenicos, Aethiopicos, Graecos, Aegypticos, Ibericos et Malabaricos recensuit, digessit et genuina Scripta a spuriiis secrevit J. S. ASSEMANI. (Romae. 1719-28.)
2. *Gregorii Bar-Hebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*. Quod e codice Musei Britannici descriptum . . . ediderunt . . . J. B. ABBELOOS et T. J. LAMY. Tres tomi. (Lovanii. 1872-77.)
3. *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syrorum*. Tomi VII. IV. *Catholici Nestoriens*. *Vie de Yahb-Alaha III*. Par P. BEDJAN. (Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 1890-96.)
4. *The Book of Governors. The Historia Monastica of Thomas Bishop of Marga, A.D. 840*. Edited from Syriac Manuscripts by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. (London: Trübner and Co. 1893.)
5. *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil des synodes Nestoriens*. Traduit et annoté par J. B. CHABOT. 'Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,' t. xxxvii. (Paris. 1902.)
6. *Histoire de Mshikha-Zca*. Texte et Traduction. Par A. MINGANA. (Mosul: Dominican Press. 1907.)
7. *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide (224-632)*. Par J. LABOURT. 'Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire ecclésiastique. (Paris: Librairie V. Lecoffre. 1904.)
8. *Early Eastern Christianity*. 'St. Margaret's Lectures' for 1904 on the Syriac-speaking Church. By F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, Lecturer in Palaeography in the University of Cambridge. (London: John Murray. 1904.)

And many other Works.

A GOOD deal of interest has always been felt in England in the so-called 'Nestorian' or Assyrian Church, but very

vague ideas are current among us as to its history and status; on the other hand, so much new light has been thrown upon these by recent discoveries that an attempt to summarize the results may be welcome.

A preliminary word or two on the authorities for the history of the Assyrian Church may not be out of place. Of course, editions of the older authors, such as Bar-Hebraeus and the *Liber Turris* of Mari and Amr,<sup>1</sup> are known to every student in the field, as are the volumes of contemporary, or almost contemporary, biography collected in Bedjan's *Acta Sanctorum Syrorum*. Two other works, however, have been rediscovered more lately, and these have added immensely to our knowledge of the general history of this Church.

The first and most important of these is the *Synodicon Orientale*, edited by Mgr. Chabot. This great work, as published, contains the Acts of fourteen councils of the Assyrian Church (besides a few other contemporary documents), the whole series running from 410 to 780 A.D. It is an authority of the very first order for the history and for the formal theology of the Church in question. In the manuscript on which Mgr. Chabot relied, there stand also the canons of a number of synods held in the Roman empire by those whom Assyrians called 'Westerns,' and we call 'Easterns.' These Western councils, accepted by the Church of Assyria as of authority among them, run from 312 to 451, from Gangra to Chalcedon inclusively. As they were well known in the West, Mgr. Chabot did not increase the bulk of a large book by printing them *in extenso*, and gives their titles only. In the original, they stand with the native councils, forming one 'Corpus decretale' with them.

The second work is the History of Mshikha-Zca (or Msiha-Zkha), edited by Father Mingana, of Mosul. This is a history of the Church in the province of Adiabene, in the form of a series of biographies of its bishops, running from 90 to 550 A.D. when the book was written. It is a most valuable authority, going far to fill what was before

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Gismondi, *Maris, Amri et Slibae de patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria* (Rome. 1896).

its discovery the most conspicuous gap in the history of the Church, *viz.* that from its foundation to the year 300. Also, it is a history, written by an author who frankly admits indebtedness to older writers in years previous to those of which he has personal knowledge, and is not a piece of hagiography only. The manuscript was discovered in the district of Berwar, and printed by the Dominican Fathers at Mosul. It was not known to M. Labourt, who laments 'la lacune' which it goes far to fill.

Broadly, we may say that we are now rediscovering the truth as to the history and theological status of this Church. Hitherto, our notions on both these points have been gathered necessarily from thirteenth-century historians like Bar-Hebraeus; and the text-books, when they referred to the Church of Assyria at all, have reflected statements from him—statements based often on later traditions, and sometimes prejudiced to the point of slander. Now we are getting back to original and contemporary authorities, and can study in them the history of a Church which, being outside the Roman empire, was also outside the purview of most ecclesiastical historians. Its theology has hitherto been known only from the statements of its enemies; we have now the opportunity of seeing and judging what they said themselves—and it appears to be very different from what other people said they said!

The Church of Assyria was originally that branch of Christianity which spread itself independently in the countries to the east of the Roman empire—in the lands, that is, that we now call Mesopotamia, which in the time of the Apostles formed the Parthian (Arsacid), and in rather later days the Persian (Sassanid) empires. Hence its members are usually called by Greek writers simply 'Easterns.' It was founded by missionaries, who either started from Edessa (at that time the capital of the small 'buffer state' of Osrhoene) or who reached it through that city, and tradition, confirmed by the latest historical discoveries, has given to the first of these the names of Adai and Mari. The former certainly preached in the country about Nineveh before the close of the first century, and



died in the year 104,<sup>1</sup> and may have been, as tradition asserts, one of 'the Seventy.'

In the second century the Church spread rapidly among a people whose creed was an out-worn paganism, and who tolerated all forms of worship; and it had more than twenty bishops<sup>2</sup> when, in 225, the Persians displaced the Parthians as rulers of the country, and under the rulers of the house of Sassan commenced that second Persian empire which lasted until the rise of Mohammedanism, in 640. The Sassanid kings were far less tolerant than the Arsacids, and under their rule the spread of Christianity was far more difficult. They had a national cult of their own, Zoroastrianism, with their own hierarchy and religious code, and were jealous of the spread of any other; still, although Christianity was disliked by them, it was not definitely persecuted till the conversion of the Roman emperor to the Faith had made all its adherents in Persia politically suspect, as belonging to the religion of the standing enemy of the Shah-in-Shah.<sup>3</sup> During the 'general' persecutions of Decius and Diocletian in the Roman empire, Assyria and Adiabene became a refuge for so many Christians as to make a very perceptible difference in the size of the Church, and about the year 250 the advent of many thousands of 'captives,' of whom a large percentage were Christians, formed another accession of strength.<sup>4</sup> This 'captivity' was brought from Antioch and Asia Minor by Sapor I (all of his house had a distinct liking for this policy of their ancient predecessors) as

<sup>1</sup> Mshikha-Zca, *Life of Pqida*. The *Doctrine of Mar Adai* and the *Life of Mari* (both of which are included in Bedjan, vol. i. though the latter has been edited separately by Abbeloos) are late compositions of the fifth and sixth centuries, but they embody older material. Traditions that were already old in the fifth century make these men the founders of the Church of the East. (See *History of Karka*, ed. Bedjan, iv.) For a discussion of the point, see Labourt, *Le Christianisme*, chs. i. ii. iii., and Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, Lecture I.

<sup>2</sup> Mshikha-Zca, *Life of Khiran*.

<sup>3</sup> Bedjan, *Acta of Mar Shimun*, ii. 131.

<sup>4</sup> 'Captives' are frequently referred to in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

trophies of his victory over Valerian, and he settled them in his own city of 'Gondi-Sapor' or Bait Lapat, a town that became in later days the second see of the Assyrian Church.

Thus this growth of Christianity outside the empire had developed into a Church of some importance before the third century had expired, and the same forces that were tending to the formation of 'patriarchates' round the 'greater sees' of Antioch and Rome were also tending to bring the twenty or thirty bishops of the Persian kingdom under the headship of the bishop of the capital. Later tradition dated the definite formation of this 'Fifth Patriarchate,' and its formal recognition by the other four, as early as 170,<sup>1</sup> but as a matter of fact the fourth century had begun before the bishop of the city in question, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, was making the claim that he was to be regarded as natural head (Catholicos or Archbishop) of all bishops of the Church in the Persian empire. This claimant was Papa, first bishop<sup>2</sup> of the see, since, for some reason, Christianity had spread very slowly in the capital city. The claim was disputed, particularly by the bishop of the summer capital,<sup>3</sup> Susa, whose name was Miles, and by the Archdeacon of Seleucia, Shimun bar Sab'ai, afterwards the most famous of the line of Catholicici. A council met to decide the question, and decided against Papa, who in his rage at defeat was struck by paralysis; he was declared degraded from his rank, and Shimun was consecrated in his room. Papa appealed to those whom Assyrians called

<sup>1</sup> Mari and Amr, *Liber Turris*.

<sup>2</sup> So says Mshikha-Zca, *Life of Akha d'Abuh*, and the statement explains the strange declaration of the biographer of Mari, that Papa was next bishop after Mari in the see. Of course, later chroniclers have felt bound to fill the gap previous to Papa and have invented contradictory lists (see Bar-Hebraeus and Mari and Amr specially), all of whom M. Labourt sweeps out of existence. Some of them (like Akha d'Abuh) were, however, real men, but bishops in Adiabene, not Seleucia.

<sup>3</sup> For this whole quarrel, see the three accounts preserved to us: *Synodicon Orientale*, 'Council of Dad-Ishu'; Bedjan, *Life of Miles*; Mshikha-Zca, *Life of Shria*.

'Westerns,' meaning thereby, not the Bishops of Rome or Antioch (for the Church of Assyria never regarded itself as in any way dependent on the last-named), but the holders of the nearest sees of importance to the west of the Persian frontier, *viz.* Nisibis and Edessa. These bishops supported him, and some sort of reconciliation was effected, Papa regaining his see, with Shimun as colleague, *cum jure successionis*. The primacy of the see of Seleucia was acquiesced in on all hands, as a thing too convenient to the Church to be dispensed with, and probably the guardians of the boy king of Persia (Sapor II) supported an innovation which had its advantages from the government point of view. The right of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, or of the see that represents it, to the 'Patriarchate of the East' has never been challenged from that day to this.

Papa, who survived the quarrel twelve years, was still living when Constantine summoned the Council of Nicaea; but neither he, nor any other bishop of the Assyrian Church, was present at that gathering, as the emperor, though perfectly well aware of its existence, and interested (too much interested, perhaps) in its fortunes, did not summon its members to settle what he regarded as primarily an imperial matter.<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Nisibis was present, he being then a Roman subject, and not a suffragan of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, but the Church of Assyria remained ignorant of the great council for eighty years, and was spared all the confusions of the Arian controversy.

Other tribulations, however, soon came upon them. All Christian subjects of Persia, as we have seen, were always politically suspect, owing to the rivalry of that empire with Rome, and when war broke out between the two empires in 337, persecution was almost inevitable. The actual *casus belli* was the desire of Sapor to recover some frontier provinces about Nisibis (the Alsace-Lorraine of the day), the cession of which had been insisted on by Diocletian a generation or so earlier; but in truth the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Labourt, *op. cit.* p. 35. Afraat, the only theologian of the Assyrian Church of the period, was manifestly ignorant of the Nicene Creed, of Arianism, and like points, in 340.

winning back of the 'Achaemenid heritage' of all Asia Minor was the constant Sassanid ambition, and this of course implied a chronic hostility to Constantinople. Christians were sure to suffer in such a war, and the Shah-in-Shah had probably (like his Ottoman successors) just cause to suspect their loyalty, and no special right to complain of the fact. Constantine, like some Czars, was not averse to being 'the protector of all Christians,' and it was natural that a subject 'melet' under Magian rule should look longingly across the border, to where their faith was supreme.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the commencement of the Romano-Persian war saw also the commencement of one of the most terrible persecutions of history—the 'Forty years' persecution of Sapor II.' Three Catholicos of Seleucia were martyred, one after the other, Shimun bar Sab'ai being the first of them to die, and 16,000 other martyrs whose names were known perished in the same time of trial.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately the affliction passed (though it was in truth only the first of many such), and under one of Sapor's successors, Yezdegerd I, in 410, the Church was given a definite firman of toleration, and allowed to organize itself as a 'melet'<sup>3</sup> in the State under its own Catholicos. It was at this time that this Church accepted the creed of Nicaea, of which it had previously been ignorant, but it shewed its absolute independence by dealing very boldly and freely with the canons of that council.<sup>4</sup>

The Catholicos (or, as he soon began to style himself,

<sup>1</sup> For Constantine's interest in 'the East' and natural desire to be the protector of all 'orthodox' Christians, see Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 25; Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. 15; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iv. 9. The idea was, and is, dictated by benevolence. It was, and is, not always beneficial in its result, when practised, *mutatis mutandis*, by moderns.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bedjan, *Acta Sanctorum*, specially vol. ii. 134 sqq.; Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. 9-16.

<sup>3</sup> The technical Turkish name for a subject Christian people, organized, as they always are, in a Church.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Synodicon Orientale*, 'Council of Isaac,' 410, for a full account of this episode, and Labourt, *op. cit.* ch. v and following.



Patriarch<sup>1</sup>) of Seleucia had five metropolitans under him at this time, whose thrones were at Bait Lapat, Nisibis (this city had been ceded to Persia in 363), Arbela, Kirkuk, and Bassora, while its bishops, who soon after numbered over sixty, were extended from the Romano-Persian frontier to Merv, Herat, and the islands of the Persian Gulf<sup>2</sup>; the still existing 'Christians of St. Thomas' in Malabar were another limb of the body, though only a small portion of them still own the obedience of their original patriarch.

Time passed, and the Assyrian Church continued a life that was quiet (except for the fact that every recommencement of the chronic Romano-Persian war meant a fresh outburst of more or less severe persecution) and, as previously, independent. The Christological controversy rose in the Church in the Roman empire, the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon assembled, and the weary strife that followed the latter began its course; still, for two generations the Church of Assyria remained as undisturbed by this as it had been by the Arian struggle. It was not until the years 480-90,<sup>3</sup> when under the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius a form of Monophysitism (that associated with the 'Henoticon') was for the time dominant in the empire, that the disputes over the question 'How can Christ be both God and man?' affected the 'Easterns' in any serious way. This Church, most of whose members were strong supporters of the doctrine of 'two Natures in Christ,' then cut itself off from communion with Constantinople, as did also the Roman Church, at the same time and for the same reason.<sup>4</sup> Monophysites called both 'Nestorian' for so doing, that being the name which this sect gave to all who acknowledged 'the two Natures'; but the fact

<sup>1</sup> The title is used in 424; cf. *Synodicon Orientale*, 'Council of Dad-Ishu.'

<sup>2</sup> Bishops sign for these sees in the Councils of Isaac, Yahb-Alaha and Dad-Ishu (410, 420, 424). See the lists of signatories in those councils in Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*.

<sup>3</sup> For this paragraph see Labourt, *op. cit.* ch. vii. § 2, 'Les démêlés de Barsauma avec les catholicos Babowai et Acace.'

<sup>4</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.* p. 71 (ed. Abbeloos and Lamy).

that the Assyrian Church, either then or a little later, definitely accepted the Council of Chalcedon,<sup>1</sup> is enough to prove the injustice of that charge, though it certainly ignored, and still ignores, the Council of Ephesus. In this action the Assyrians were led by one Bar-Soma, Bishop of Nisibis, a man of strangely mingled character, under whose influence a 'dyo-physite' confession was adopted and a canon passed authorizing the marriage of all bishops.<sup>2</sup> Piroz, King of Persia, favoured the change, he being no doubt glad that his 'rayats' should separate themselves definitely from the subjects of his enemy; while the mass of Christians supported Bar-Soma gladly, partly from theological sympathy, but more probably because they were weary of persecution, and were glad to do anything (short of abandonment of their faith) to shew that they were not the same kind of Christian as the Roman, and that therefore it was not necessary for the Shah-in-Shah to persecute them every time he had a quarrel with his neighbour.

Monophysite supremacy in the empire ended with the accession of Justin in 518, and the breach between the Assyrian and Constantinopolitan Churches, as also that between the latter and the Roman, ended also. The concord thus established, however, was not to endure for long. By 550 Justinian had found it necessary for political reasons to conciliate the Monophysites of the empire in Syria and Egypt, and hoped by passing a posthumous anathema on certain men whom they regarded as Nestorian (of whom Theodore of Mopsuestia was the principal), to

<sup>1</sup> As this statement may sound surprising, we state that the Council of Chalcedon does most certainly stand in the *Synodicon* of the Assyrian Church, and that both it and the *Tome of Leo* are, on the whole, fairly translated. Further, it is referred to, as of authority, in a later council, of Mar Aba, dating 540. Mgr. Chabot does not print it in his *Synodicon Orientale* for good reasons, but he refers to its existence, and it stands in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Bar-Soma's actual confession was repudiated, but another asserting the duality of the Natures of Christ adopted in its place. Cf. *Synodicon Orientale*, 'Council of Acacius,' I. II.; letters of Bar-Soma; and 'Council of B. Lapat.'

persuade them to drop their objections to the Council of Chalcedon.

Hence arose the controversy over what we call 'the Three Chapters.' The act did not conciliate the Monophysites, and did estrange the Assyrians, who regarded Theodore as the greatest of teachers, and who had already canonized him.<sup>1</sup> On hearing of the 'Three Chapters decree,' they held a council under their Patriarch Ishu-yahb I (585), and while they enacted a doctrinal confession of elaborate orthodoxy, they also passed an anathema on all who insulted their hero.<sup>2</sup> Henceforward the Assyrian Church did tend to regard itself as out of communion with that of Constantinople, and a generation later (612) it adopted, in controversy with Monophysites, the formula of 'Two natures, two *qnumi*, and one Person (*Parsopa*) in Christ,' and declared that it could not admit that the Blessed Virgin should be called 'Mother of God' (*Yaldath Alaha*).<sup>3</sup> Simultaneously, the Church more or less accepted the name 'Nestorian' given it by the Monophysites, and it is probable that it was at this time that Nestorius' name was linked with that of Theodore in canonization.

Still, the schism was not definitely consummated. As late as 630, the Emperor Heraclius tried to restore religious peace, and admitted the orthodoxy of the Assyrian Church<sup>4</sup> but the two bodies were drifting apart, each having a very vague and inaccurate idea of the teaching of the other, but being impressed with the feeling that 'those others' must be somehow wrong.

Then came the great wave of Moslem conquest; and when men had leisure to think and breathe again, Assyrian and Jacobite had settled down as 'melets' in the Moslem

<sup>1</sup> The canonization of Theodore in 'the East' dates from 484 (*Synodicon Orientale*, pp. 211, 475), long previous to his condemnation in 553 at Constantinople. Hence the anger of the 'Orientals' at the anathema passed on him is comprehensible.

<sup>2</sup> *Synodicon Orientale*, 'Council of Ishu-yahb.'

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Gathering of Bishops,' 612.

<sup>4</sup> Mari and Amr, *Life of Ishu-yahb*, ii. Bar-Hebraeus also refers to the fact.

State, while the Church of Constantinople stood on its defence in what was left of the empire. Each was accustomed to separation from the other and each was contented to be separated, and so they have continued to this day. The separation was an accomplished fact by 640; one cannot say that it was so before that date, nor can one fit the anomalous relations of the two Churches into any cut-and-dried theory.

We have much less detailed information of the history of the Church, when its members had become 'rayats' under the Khalifate, than we have in the Sassanid period of their career; or, as it is probably more correct to say, much less of the existing information has, as yet, been made accessible to Europeans. Broadly, it appears to have entered on a stage in which it had more of brilliance, but less of solid worth, than had been the case previously. The substitution of Islam for Zoroastrianism was to the advantage of Christians, but not to the advantage of the Church in the long-run, though this was not obvious for several generations. Christians were tolerated by the State, and at first were not despised as they have since come to be, for, if they were not warriors (as was not desired), they were extremely useful servants and instruments. The Arabs had taken over the whole machine of Sassanid organization (which indeed, in all its essentials exists in that land to this day, and does not seem likely to be altered), but they, mere tribesmen as they still were, had to learn to manage it, and until they had been civilized—and though they were quick learners, this process took more than one generation—the Christians were in this and in much else their teachers. Thus education was in their hands; all the underlings (and often the chiefs) in every department of the civil service were Christians, as is still largely the case; the medical profession was for centuries practically a Christian monopoly; and Assyrians, who had their great colleges at Nisibis and Seleucia, became the instructors of the Arabs in all culture and philosophy.

When it is remembered how much of the culture of mediaeval Europe came to it through the Saracens of



Spain, it will be seen that we too stand indebted to those who first taught the Saracens ; all the philosophy of the 'schoolmen' depends on Aristotle ; and Aristotle became known to mediaeval universities in translations from the Arabic, for the production of which Assyrians were ultimately responsible.

Morally, the position of the Church was not quite so satisfactory as it was in a worldly sense ; its isolation from the rest of Christendom tended to produce self-satisfaction and a very false pride. The feeling sprang up among its members (and it is not extinct to this day) that 'we are the People,' and that, though Wisdom was not likely to die, because their Church would preserve it, yet Wisdom had nothing more to teach them. This view does not tend to real progress in things spiritual, and it is one of the causes of the familiar 'stagnation' of Oriental Churches.

Further, though there was no persecution for generations (unless official oppression be called so), there was nevertheless a steady drain of active-minded and ambitious men to Islam. Conversion to the Moslem faith meant worldly profit, and was less obviously apostasy than was adoration of Sun or Fire. In those who remained faithful, too, there was a lowering influence always at work. The 'melet' position, with its temptations to intrigue, at once puts a premium on the vices of a subject race (deceptiveness and quarrelsomeness), and tends to keep the strongest and best characters out of the posts where their example can be most useful. In a Mussalman country it is always thus. The bishops are the recognized authorities, through whom the 'hukumet' deals with the 'rayat,' and no Oriental can resist the temptation of obtaining the official recognition thus given. It leads, however, to bishops being regarded as government authorities rather than Fathers in God, and the government wants men in that rank who will either be useful agents or who will give no trouble, and sees to it that only such men are chosen. Therefore, there is a constant danger that bishops be, not spiritual leaders or even good managers, but, at best, respectable nonentities, and, at worst, supple rascals.

Thus, when persecution came again, though not more severe in itself than previous trials, it fell on a Church far less qualified to sustain it.

Wherever Islam has been supreme, wonderful system though it is, its effects have been blighting for all beneath its influence; still, this effect did not make itself visible at once, and for several generations the Assyrian Church, though its period of increase in its own home was over, could make conquests elsewhere. Branches were put forth in several directions, and in two in particular the growth was so striking and picturesque as to merit special mention.

The first of these was in China. The arrival of the first Assyrian mission in that land (the leader was one Olpen, ? Malpana, Teacher) was practically contemporaneous with the Mussalman conquest of Persia<sup>1</sup> (636), and the Chinese (tolerant of any faith that does not appear to be political conquest disguised) most certainly allowed, if they did not encourage, the preaching of 'this excellent, mysterious, and pacific religion.' There was some persecution to face; but tolerance was the rule, and in the year 778 the famous Singan-fu inscription records the names of three bishops and more than eighty clergy, in a list that was not intended to be a complete directory. Nor was this a Church that existed for a brief period only. Marco Polo, so long resident at the court of 'the great Khan,' records constantly the existence of Nestorian churches in the thirteenth century, and the Church was to be found in every one of the ten provinces of the empire. Evil days, however, came soon after the visit of the Venetian; a Franciscan mission under John Corvinus appeared in 1293, prepared to vote all Christians heretics who did not recognize the Holy Father. Like all similar cases of interference, this was dictated by pure Christian zeal for Catholicity, as understood; but that fact did not prevent its effects from being disastrous, as ever, on those whom it was meant to benefit, or from being a hindrance to the

<sup>1</sup> Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 'De Nestorianis Dissertatio.' This includes a translation of the inscription.

acceptance of the Faith by the heathen, who watched an unedifying wrangle. The quarrels of the two missions do not concern us: both existed, in opposition, till both were destroyed about 1400 by the terrible 'Tamerlane.'

The second of the growths which we shall mention is that among the Tartars, well known to romance and legend as the 'Kingdom of Prester John.' In this case romance, based on the magnificent statements of the potentate about himself, has adorned the story to the point of incredibility. We read Ariosto's tale of the priest-king among pagans, at whose court attended a Patriarch and twelve bishops, and who ruled the 'Three Indias and Babylon,' and think that the whole is as purely fictitious as the Hippogriff that brought English Astolfo to the land; but though the king's own account of his greatness (for it is taken from a letter of his to the Emperor of Byzantium which a freak of fate has preserved) is high-coloured even for an Oriental description, the existence of a Christian dynasty of Tartars, whose kings were called usually by the name 'Ung Khan' (Syriacized into Yukhanan, John) is a well-established fact. The first of them was converted about the year 1000 by a supposed vision of Mar Sergius, when he was hunting and had lost his fellows; the tribe of course followed the chief, and the Christian dynasty thus founded existed for about two hundred years, till it fell before Jenghiz Khan in 1187.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1200, political events of importance again stirred Mesopotamia. The rule of the Khalifs of Baghdad came to an end, though puppet heads of religion were allowed to continue in the city, and the kingdom of the Mongols, or Tartar Khans, took its place. Once more, one of those strange periodic upheavals had stirred the heart of Asia, and as Attila had come forth in the fifth century, so did Jenghiz in the thirteenth. His destruction of the kingdom of Prester John was an incident only; he and his successors, Kubla Khan, Hulagu, Argon, ruled from Pekin to Mesopotamia—semi-nomads, whose capital was a camp, and who retained their fathers' paganism for several

<sup>1</sup> Assemani, *op. cit.* 'De Nestorianis Dissertatio.'

generations before they finally adopted the Mussalman faith.

As seen from Europe, they were dim gigantic figures, known through the accounts of men like Marco Polo—typical ‘eastern despots,’ who ‘decreed their stately pleasure domes’ by sacred rivers; kings hardly known, who ruled unknown peoples. The statesmen of the thirteenth century, however—that age when all men were dreaming great dreams, for which the world was not ready—saw in these kings who had arisen beyond the land of the Saracens possible allies in a possible future Crusade, and two of the wisest men of that period (Edward I of England and St. Louis of France) had hopes of winning back the Holy Land by the help of the ‘Great Cham.’ The Tartar rulers, for their part, who had their private quarrels with the Sultan of Egypt, were not averse to the plan of common action with that potentate’s enemies, though their ideas of Crusades must have been vague in the extreme. Messages, however, came through to them, and one of their dynasty, Argon, decided that he must send an ambassador of his own, in reply to these Western strangers: they were Christians, he understood, and he had Christian subjects enough; their chief should bear his word to the kings of the West.<sup>1</sup> Thus there came to pass a strange episode in the history of the Assyrian Church, for the Patriarch of the day, Yahb-Alaha III, received orders to go generally to the West, and, having discovered the nations and the kings thereof, to make alliance with them in his master’s name! Strange mission indeed, and stranger missionary, for the Patriarch thus ordered to go, who ruled his twenty-seven metropolitans from China to Damascus, was himself a Chinaman, born in Pekin. Yahb-Alaha was unable to go himself, but he sent an old friend and school-fellow, Soma by name, his chaplain, who in due time presented himself at Rome. Seldom surely can a body of respectable Cardinals (the Papacy was vacant at the moment) have been more astonished than were those who received this Chinaman,

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan, *Vie de Yabalaha III*, printed in *IV. Nestorian Catholics*.



who came from somewhere near the limits of the world as ambassador of a king of whom they had scarce heard, and proclaimed himself Archdeacon of a Church and representative of a Patriarch of whom they had never heard at all! 'Who and what are you?' demanded the astonished College. 'Who is this Patriarch of yours, and how did the Faith come to you?' His reply must have been almost as amazing as his advent, for it declared that if the Cardinals had never heard of his Patriarch, he had never heard of their Pope. 'Never came there a man from the Pope to us Easterns; the holy Apostles taught our fathers, and as they received the Faith, so we hold it to this day.' He was asked for his doctrine, and he gave the confession in modern use; and the reader may account it either to the charity or ignorance of the Cardinals that it was accepted without question, and the wanderer allowed to celebrate with his own 'Taksa' (Liturgy) before both the College and, later, Pope Benedict XI. At a later stage of his journey, probably in Guienne, this Chinaman had an audience of Edward I; and that the greatest of English kings should have listened to the 'Taksa of Mar Adai,' and received the Eucharist from the hands of this son of the Assyrian Church, is a point of deep interest in the past and of happy omen for the future.

Less auspicious, however, was another outcome of his visit. He had revealed to Rome the existence of a Church that did not know the Pope, and if opportunity should offer, how should conscientious Romans refuse to try to bring that body into due obedience to him? The Dominicans who bore the Pope's letter to Yahb-Alaha were the forerunners of an army whose influence has been none the less harmful in fact for being beneficent in intention.<sup>1</sup> The romantic embassy was, of course, fruitless. The days of Crusades were over, though we need not doubt the words of Edward to the stranger, that the dearest wish of his heart was to repeat in his old age the exploits of his youth, and to take the Cross once more. On his return to his own

<sup>1</sup> See Giamil, *Relationes Genuinae inter sedem Apostolicam atque Orientalium ecclesiam*, Document I.

land, Soma found evil days coming on his Church: Argon the tolerant was dead, the Tartars had adopted Islam as their faith, and the converts' outburst of zeal, with its usual massacres, marked the fact. All the churches in Tabriz were destroyed, Christians were slaughtered in Adiabene, and though they held out awhile in the 'upper town' of Arbela<sup>1</sup> (where the great 'tel' was their citadel), it was captured, massacre followed, and not a single Christian family now remains in what was once a great metropolis of the Church. The persecution swept down to Baghdad, and the Patriarch himself was brutally treated. It was probably at this time that Yahb-Alaha wrote again to the Rome that had been so friendly to his envoy, and made what Romans claim as a submission to the Pope. His letter certainly admits a *universalis paternitas* of some sort, and uses other language of the kind, though it is to be noted that he uses also the Christological formula that is condemned to-day, and omits the term *Deipara*.<sup>2</sup> The submission, and the visit of the party of Dominicans who procured it, were of worse omen for the Church than the persecution.

The persecution passed, and for two and a half centuries our knowledge of the Church is little better than a blank. Dimly enough, we are aware of terrible events about 1400, when Timur the Tartar burst on Mesopotamia and almost depopulated what had been a great centre of the world's concourse since Abraham's day. Mosul, Nisibis, Adiabene (the last almost entirely Christian) were desolated; the great irrigation system round Baghdad, which this century hopes to restore, was destroyed; and the granary of the world became a pasture for wandering Arabs. We hear vaguely of appalling massacres of Christians, but all that we know is that the Church went down in that cataclysm, and that it has never recovered from the blow. Twenty-seven were its metropolitans under its Patriarch, in 1300, and it spread its arms from Damascus to Pekin; these

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan, *Vie de Yabalaha*.

<sup>2</sup> Giamil, *Relationes Genuinae inter sedem Apostolicam atque Orientalium ecclesiam*.

metropolitans had diminished to one in 1552, and outside of northern Mesopotamia and Kurdistan the Church had apparently ceased to exist. The throne of the Patriarch had shifted from Baghdad to Mosul.<sup>1</sup>

Quarrels and schisms, the bane of Eastern Churches, soon came in to complete the work. In the utter confusion that followed Timur, the custom, familiar enough to Mussalmans, of regarding religious headship as a thing hereditary in a family had grown up in the Church, and one house claimed the Patriarchate as an inheritance, the heads always adopting the name of Shimun. This corruption speedily brought others with it, particularly that of keeping episcopal sees vacant, that the Patriarch or his house might receive the income, and thus bishops and metropolitans became perilously few. At last, in 1552, at the death of the Patriarch, there was, as stated, only one metropolitan in existence, one Shimun Dinkha, the recognized 'heir' of his late uncle. This prelate claimed the throne, but his right was disputed by another candidate, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd named Sulaqa.<sup>2</sup> Broadly, the men of Mosul plain supported the latter, the men of Kurdistan and Persia the former. Sulaqa, unable to obtain consecration in his own land, applied to Rome, where he naturally received it at once, on conditions, and returned as Patriarch. He died very soon, murdered, said his friends, by the contrivance of his rival, but the schism did not end with him; another family, whose heads adopted the name of Elia, claimed the succession, and they too received consecration from Rome. They settled themselves in the plain of Mosul, where a permanent Roman mission soon made its appearance, to educate and to Romanize all whom it could draw within its influence.

The two rival lines being thus established, the relations between each of them and the Papacy become very tangled, and creditable to no one of the three. The hereditary 'Natar Cursya' system prevailed in both lines; the Pope

<sup>1</sup> Assemani, *op. cit.* 'De Nestorianis Dissertatio.'

<sup>2</sup> For this paragraph, see Assemani, *op. cit.* 'De Nestorianis Dissertatio.'

was willing to recognize, without asking questions, anyone as Patriarch who would submit to him; and either claimant was willing to purchase Papal support by a submission which meant as much or as little as the circumstances of the two decreed. Matters were further complicated by the establishment of a third line of claimants to the Patriarchate, who were avowedly Romanist—the 'Joseph' line, which was set up in 1681 at Amida—and things continued thus till 1778. In that year the Elia line once more submitted (for what numbered time it would be hard to say) to the Papacy, and this time their captivity was made secure. The 'Joseph' line was allowed to lapse, and the Christians of Mosul plain were brought into Roman subjection, though the process was not completed, and the Turkish recognition of the 'Chaldaean melet' (the name given to these Romanized Assyrians) was not secured till as late as 1846.

The Christians of Mosul plain, however, have by no means lost recollection of their old independence and affection for their ancient mother; nor, truth to tell, has the policy of Westernization and Italianization pursued toward the Church by its foreign directors been such as to make its members loyal subjects to those who rule their spiritual fathers.

In the mountains, and in Persia, the Church still continued, though sinking gradually lower, and becoming more and more unworthy of its own great traditions. The strange 'Natar Cursya' system became general among men who were largely in the tribal stage of civilization—a fact lamentable, but inevitable. It has at least the advantage that, under a government that would never allow the choice of a bishop to be made on his merits, it secures as good a chance of a good bishop as other countries have of a good king.

Intrigue against the Church by Romans who had the ear of the local authority, Kurdish oppression and massacre, the disintegrating influence of well-meaning American missions, have all brought the ancient body lower yet, and many of the more educated of their number in Persia,



'despairing of the republic,' sought a political refuge in the Russian Church in 1896. Yet the remnant has held on, poor inheritors indeed of its great past, but its inheritors still, and it has been the privilege of the youngest of the great national Churches to do something to keep alive the flame of life in this the oldest of its sisters. So, through centuries of oppression and degradation, life has been preserved in the Church to our own time, and now that, as we hope, the dawn of a better day is rising for the long-tormented countries of the East, we ask what work the Master has in the future for those whom He has surely not preserved without an object, and who are heirs of a history as grand, if as chequered, as any one of those 'nation-families' who together make up the Catholic Church.

W. A. WIGRAM.

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#### ART. VII.—THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.

*The Church and the World in Idea and in History.* Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1909 on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By WALTER HOBHOUSE, M.A., Honorary Canon and Chancellor of Birmingham Cathedral; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Birmingham; formerly Fellow of Hertford College and Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1910.)

THERE has always been an attraction for serious Christians in the thought of their Church as a homogeneous society of earnest souls, with a common standard of faith and conduct, separate from the world and suffering its ill-will, but inflicting a noble revenge by detaching from it, one by one, its worthier elements. It is a conception that has never, save at rare moments of high enthusiasm or in small and concentrated societies, even approached to a legitimate

or official realization. At other times some voluntary association of like-minded people, an *ecclesia in ecclesia*, has formed an innocent substitute; or else satisfaction has been found in separation. From the Montanists to the Non-jurors, to take two familiar instances, a concentrated zeal has in some measure compensated for the loss endured by those who have isolated themselves from the general Christian fellowship of their time. The merits of a religious society can never be known by any but its members, as we are told by the advocates of those to which we do not happen to belong; but the outsider who desires to draw a theoretical picture has a certain advantage in being able to ignore the practical drawbacks from which he has never suffered.

Mr. Hobhouse, the author of the latest volume of 'Bampton Lectures,' writes in this spirit. It is true that his personal position is not that of a Non-juror, but he has done his best, and with much success, to throw himself into the position of an external critic of the Church's history. Its main stream, he holds, has been diverted into a wrong channel ever since the days of Constantine, and he summons us to reconstruct in imagination at once, and as soon as possible in practice, the Christian society upon its only true and primitive lines. He knows the value of a label for his adversaries, and makes constant use of the unpleasant title of 'Erastians' in his description of them. Erastianism crops up as soon as governments cease to be hostile to Christianity, and every normal Christian, down to the English Churchman of our own days who dreads disestablishment and disendowment, is an Erastian; though in justice to him he is qualified, when his motives are religious, as an 'earnest Erastian.'<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hobhouse displays his own sympathies clearly enough at the beginning of his work by selecting William Law, the Non-juror, as the author from whom he will make his first quotation, and by mottoes from the Montanist Tertullian and from Dante, who was, to say the least, a very detached observer of the religious phenomena of his day.

<sup>1</sup> *The Church and the World*, p. 295.

The thesis which the author's personal preference has led him to elaborate, is that intensive Christianity is of infinitely greater value than diffusive, and that no prospect of exerting a general or indefinite influence for good ought to deter the Church from limiting its membership to those who live and worship according to the full requirements of its law. The first step towards recovering the indifferent must be a sharp reminder of their deficiency in the form of exclusion from any share, however nominal, in the government of the society they are neglecting. For this loose association with less serious minds not only dilutes the intensity of feeling, but misdirects the whole policy of the Church. It is not that occasional disasters have resulted from acquiescence in wrong standards, but that the whole line of the Church's progress has been diverted from the right path. And therefore Mr. Hobhouse proposes a change as revolutionary as any that was inaugurated at the Reformation. Just as Calvin reverted, as he thought, to the true system of the Christian ministry as found in Scripture, rejecting all that lay between the first and the sixteenth centuries, so Mr. Hobhouse would have us resume the path from which the Church diverged at the Edict of Milan.

So grave a revolution can only be commended by one who holds that he has a strong principle and an unerring test. Mr. Hobhouse finds this principle in the actual words of Christ and in the purpose with which the Founder instituted His Church. He states it in two propositions of admirable clearness :—

'I. Christ intended to found a visible Divine Society upon earth to perpetuate His work ; and this intention was primary, not subsidiary.

'II. This Divine Society He represented as being separate from, and in some sense antagonistic to, the world ; and membership in it must involve sacrifice.'

Nothing could be better or more convincing, so far as it goes ; but in what sense, if the society is to influence the world, can it be separate from the world? We might

conceive of a truth, or body of truths, entrusted to the society, to be handed down unimpaired from generation to generation, like some crystal incapable of addition or diminution or chemical change, which must be kept entire or wholly lost. But even this analogy would conflict with mental facts as we know them, for each generation, not to speak of each member of each generation, has a distinct personality, and cannot see truths, however absolute, with the same eyes or in the same proportions as its predecessors. But we cannot isolate the society itself, even in abstract thought, in the same way. It is the weakness of Mr. Hobhouse's argument that he makes the attempt. For him Church and State are two independent and co-existent entities, working *in pari materia*, and therefore fit subjects for criticism of the same kind. Do serious historians spend their time in passing judgement on an abstract 'State'? How often should we find such verdicts in the pages of Ranke or of Stubbs? They were, in fact, restrained by their sense of reality from such an employment of their time, and Mr. Hobhouse would have been well advised to copy their reticence. Unfortunately he has chosen to devote himself to the development of this one line of criticism, which it is difficult to regard as either philosophical or historical.

His motive is one which commands our fullest respect. His method is that of finding out, historically and not *a priori*, 'the intention of Christ for the Church in relation to the World, the principles on which He intended her to act; and this "idea" (*viz.*, the intention just specified) can only be known to us by the investigation through purely historical methods of the evidence with regard to Christ's intention.' The evidence is that of the Gospels, and not that of history. No attention is paid to any possibility of an argument from design. History is not used to trace the development of a Divine purpose for the education of the world, but as the material of an arraignment of mankind and of the Church for disloyalty to the Master. Nor is there any reasoned consideration and rejection of the idea of development, such as we might have expected from a



thinker who is familiar with modern methods in the study of causes. The absolute standard for the individual and corporate life of Christendom is stated, and then begins the indictment. The Church, we are truly told, has in all ages and in many ways conformed to the world, and has suffered in life and in faith.

To this line of reasoning, impressive as it is, certain considerations forbid us to give our complete adherence. Not only the great argument that the Society has, in a general way, developed as its Founder meant it to develop—an argument which will receive our attention throughout this article—but the undoubted fact that He habitually laid down principles and not rules must give us pause. We know how difficult it is to determine which of His utterances are laws and which are not; the recent debate on marriage among Christians is an example how divines, equally competent and equally loyal, may be at variance. May it not be that what Mr. Hobhouse regards as a law and a test by which Christians in every generation can determine the faithfulness of their Church, our Lord's utterances concerning hostility between Church and world, is itself an oracle in the form of a paradox? Not, of course, that His people may sanction sin; but that He was founding a society which, because it was to influence the world, was also destined to be influenced by the world. Every function of social life is affected by every other; even the language which has to be framed to describe new relations must be borrowed from old ones. Not only the possible forms of organization but the very motives of loyalty and mutual help, to name only two, are necessarily common to the Christian society with others which co-exist with it and overlap it in membership. The Founder was not working *in vacuo*, and we have no right to doubt that He made allowance in His purpose for disturbing forces. Assuredly He designed that His Church should be the home of saints; but when we read such neutral and dispassionate statements as those of Lord Cromer and Sir Harry Johnston concerning the beneficial effect of their Christianity upon depressed and perhaps inferior races

such as Negroes, are we to condemn it and them, and implicitly Him whose name they bear? Is it not wiser to think of Christianity as a faith of which the lower phases are homogeneous with and merge in the higher? That it is attractive, that it spreads like leaven, is the teaching of our Lord, and the hopefulness it inspires has been the secret of success. This hopefulness has led the Church (in the collective sense of those who have spread Christianity and directed its policy) to idealize its adherents, and to raise them to a higher level by assuming in them a maturity which was not actually theirs. And the wisdom of this policy, or rather instinct, has been proved by its general success. With large and inevitable exceptions both of persons and periods it has done its work, and not the less effectually because its success has been relative to the local or contemporary standard of conscience. Christian wisdom has not refused permission to its converts to take an interest and a share in the concerns of their Church; they have been allowed to enter the water before they could swim, and therefore the Church has been saved from shrivelling into a close corporation, and its members have been ready to submit to many forms of expostulation and discipline because they felt that these were bestowed from within. It is true that we must not overlook the power of the sense of sin and of that austerity of life which is inspired by repugnance to the world regarded as lying in sin. But these have been rather special than general forces, and their influence has not been decisive in shaping the course of Christianity. They have had a greater place in literature than in life, and perhaps in the most conspicuous cases have been intellectual exercises as well as spiritual experiences. Pascal, for instance, had a thirst for knowledge and a scientific imagination which was eager to know God. If knowledge be of differences, it was a sound method to develop the contrast between sin and infinite purity, and his was as disinterested a search for truth as that of the explorer mapping uninhabitable Arctic shores.

The Christian fellowship, then, was designed for, and has grown by, the inspiration of a sense of happiness through

trust. Christian men were hopeful for themselves and hopeful for others, and often raised them to their own level by assuming that they were already what their friends wished them to be. No doubt the slow process of raising the less worthy members of the society was retarded and compromised by their depressing influence upon the worthier; but since the universe and human nature were designed to be as we know them, can we quarrel with what was inevitable? And may we doubt that the task of resistance to the forces of deterioration was imposed upon the better elements of Christendom as the condition of their own progress; or that whole generations might deteriorate in order that their successors might make a fresh start towards better things? The streams of grace, as of nature, are not artificial and symmetrical canals.

It might seem that as soon as the generation of the Apostles had passed away retrogression began. It is a commonplace that the teaching of St. Paul was first apprehended by St. Augustine, having been eclipsed for full three centuries. It was, in fact, the Old Testament, and not the New, that dominated the Christian imagination. The Greek Septuagint, regarded as a whole and without distinction between what we regard as Canonical and Apocryphal books, was authoritative, and when in Christian literature and in the art of the catacombs examples of heroism were to be set before the faithful, the favourite objects were Daniel in the den, or the Three in the furnace, or else the seven Maccabees and their mother.<sup>1</sup> In the Jewish struggles of faith the double hope of final victory and of ultimate vengeance upon the oppressor supported the combatants. To take first the latter, and to us the less natural, hope, we can see how the literal acceptance into Christian minds of a Jewish ideal found some encouragement in the New Testament and much in the Old. The Psalms which for us are a difficulty were the natural expression of outraged feeling in the days of persecution; and if any sensitive Christian hesitated to rejoice at the

<sup>1</sup> It is said that in Southern Italy to-day churches may be found dedicated to the Santi Maccabei.

thought of a coming vengeance, it was an obvious reproof to such delicacy that since the man after God's own heart had given it utterance, duty required the believer to mould his own character into conformity to the inspired standard. The elliptic fierceness of the retort of the martyr to his judge, 'Tu nos, te autem Deus,' is thoroughly characteristic of the age. And the same spirit was carried into the conflict with heresy. More than once it seemed as though the orthodox were the losing cause; perhaps as a rule its adherents were a minority among those who called themselves Christians. The times were not like ours, when dogmatic differences are those which excite the least resentment. Earnestness took the form of pugnacity, and as part of the happiness of heaven for the persecuted had been the anticipated satisfaction of watching the torment of the persecutor, so controversialists like St. Hilary of Poitiers inspirited their readers by picturing the pleasure of watching Arians in hell. And St. Hilary enforces the command not to return evil for evil by the consideration that such conduct will spoil the completeness of the future Divine vengeance.<sup>1</sup> But the thought of vengeance was only half of the Old Testament lesson; the other half was the thought of victory. As the permanence of the present world-order grew upon the minds of Christians, and they became assured that the purposes of Providence were to be accomplished within the present dispensation, it was inevitable that they should begin to think of the victory, of which they were certain, as coming in measurable time and in the conditions with which they were familiar. In fact, the Church was growing acclimatized to the world, as was the design of its Founder. There were, of course, exceptions, as for instance Tertullian, from whom Mr. Hobhouse quotes the utterance that a Christian emperor was inconceivable. But a society in every part of which Christians might be found, where the temples, as Tertullian himself boasts, were the only places left in the sole possession of the pagans, was obviously one in which it was quite possible that the supreme position might be held by a Christian. In civil and military service

<sup>1</sup> *Tract. in Ps.* 137, § 16.



they took their full share, and if they could obey they might also hope to command. The prize of empire was always within the reach of a talented adventurer, and if the revolution had not come by the agency of one who was a Theist before he was a Christian, sooner or later it must have been directly effected by an adherent of our faith. But the important point is that the possibility must always have been before the minds of thoughtful Christians, and as their numbers and social weight increased the probability must have seemed nearer. They cannot have shut their eyes to it and must have been half-consciously preparing for their future dominance, in spite of the fulminations of isolated thinkers, indifferent to the facts and tendencies of their age. And when the time came, the Christians were ready to supply Constantine and his sons with the needed generals and administrators. The ante-Nicene period had been a school time for the Church's mature performance of the work of the world; and if part of the preparation may well have seemed to some earnest souls to partake too much of the nature of compromise, we can see in the perspective of history that the providential purpose was being accomplished.

But if the Christians were thus learning to prepare themselves for their destiny, they also had to unlearn. They were burdened from the first with the false doctrine of allegory. Whether it came to them through Philo, or whether it was in the air and adopted without reflexion as the natural mode of interpreting sacred writings, this device of the Greeks for exploiting Homer in the interests of theology was for centuries to vitiate Christian exegesis. And with it went another theory which equally disfigures the thought of the Christians. Their contemporaries believed in the golden age of the past. Whatever was primitive was wise and true, and each rival school claimed to be older, and therefore profounder, than its fellows. Orpheus, Zoroaster, Hostanes, and a dozen other shadows each claimed an immemorial antiquity, and the Christians, in what they thought was necessary self-defence as well as undeniable truth, claimed the deepest antiquity of all. . . Moses was the

primeval sage, and all truth that survived in paganism was borrowed, and spoiled in the process, from him. This false philosophy of history, disguising as it did the progressive work of God in revelation and in the development of human society, had its effect upon Christian doctrine and also upon practice. For the heathen gods were regarded as living caricatures of the true God and of His invisible ministers, formidable still and by countless devices tempting and tormenting their Christian adversaries. Strange superstitions grew from this belief; and indeed the Christian standard of probability was little more rational than the pagan in regard to portents. To this heavy burden of alien ideas we might add many others, and notably the influence, both in attraction and repulsion, of Jewish modes of thought. For the Church was not established in a new but in an existing world, and was set to make the best that could be made of the situation, in it as well as for it. We have no evidence of an undiluted Christianity, even in its beginnings, when once the Master had left the earth.

This mixed character of early Christianity is clearly seen in the Apologists. Those interesting authors were inventors (unless we consider that Isocrates anticipated them) of a new form of literature. As an open letter to Prime Minister or Archbishop may lie on our railway bookstalls, of which the really important original was not that sent, if indeed it was sent, to the supposed recipient, but the other which went to the printer, so Roman emperors were addressed in Apologies which doubtless were intercepted by a private secretary and deposited in the wastepaper basket, unless, as is quite possible, the dedication was merely nominal. It made, at any rate, an effective opening to a public appeal. The context of these Apologies was the presentation, progressively more detailed, of the Christian faith in such aspects as should render it attractive to the outside world. While modern missionaries have to make a laborious effort to enter into the mind of Hindu or Buddhist that they may discover the angle from which Christian light may best approach the non-Christian mind, the Apologists had the advantage, which was also the difficulty, that their mode

of thought, in all respects save one, was common to themselves with those whom they addressed. Stoicism or Neoplatonism was inherent in their minds, just as we cannot think without reminiscences, conscious or unconscious, of Berkeley and Darwin. But their common ground extended also over the lower levels of the mind, and whatever was current of error and prejudice, so long as it was not specifically unchristian, prevailed equally on both sides in the conflict. Of course the Christian elements tended in Christian minds more and more to neutralize or expel the non-Christian ; but from the first, so far as the story can be traced, the process was one of elimination, and as old contaminations dwindled new ones were to take their place. It was ordained that the Church should so exist and progress, and the search for an unconditioned Christianity may be as successful, but will certainly be as artificial, as the chemist's art by which he isolates some element from its natural combination.

When the Church had passed through the phase of persecution, which was formidable to individuals rather than to the society, the period begins which Mr. Hobhouse joins with Dante in denouncing. The persecutions had been too languid and spasmodic at most times, too ill-contrived and unsystematic at their worst, to be really destructive ; and often there was a curious tolerance about them, as when, in the last and nominally the most formidable, the inquisition in Africa was aimed at sacred books and not at believers. But the very capriciousness of the danger had in cases which we know, and doubtless in many others, a demoralizing effect. It was not more perilous to be a Christian then than it is to be a soldier by profession now ; yet the uncertainty had the same effect on many characters as has residence in a region of earthquake. We have no right to criticize the process through which the Church was designed to pass, but the preparatory discipline educated the body to the detriment, in some degree, of the members.

So it was in the days of triumph. The alliance of Church and State, the kingdoms of the world bringing their glory into the city of God, is a thought that has been often and

eloquently developed. It was an unmixed good that Christian principle should guide lawgiving and administration ; it was inevitable, and not to be excessively regretted by any reasonable mind, that mistakes should be made in so novel an undertaking. But the price had to be paid. The Church was to be welcomed not into some ideal society, but into a very modern and somewhat tawdry despotism, not unlike the Second Empire of France. It was a despotism which had conferred substantial benefits of peace and order upon a world tormented by outward and inward war, and since the age was one of decadent taste it was rewarded by vulgar and extravagant laudations. We must not take ancient praise or censure too seriously ; the abuse of the superlative was an inveterate evil, and when we read Christian panegyrics of Constantine and vituperations of his son we must qualify them with the grain of salt. But the gratitude to him who had lifted the shadow of persecution was profound, and men were confident in the wisdom that guided his legislation. That legislation was inspired by the belief that government is omnipotent ; that it ought to interfere, and can effectually do so, in all the relations of mankind. With that Roman passion for uniformity which led Pío Nono to abolish local peculiarities of worship throughout his communion and the Minister of Education to boast that every French child at the same hour was studying the same lesson, Constantine applied the regular administrative system of Diocletian to the Church. Belief was to be uniform, and the bishop was to be responsible for the faith of his flock, as the prefect of a department under Napoleon III for the votes of his people. In return for this duty great privileges were bestowed. The bishop received his place in the state, equivalent in dignity to that of the highest officers of government, and wealth was poured out for the benefit of the Church. The idea that episcopacy is rightly adorned with rank and that Divine worship should be celebrated in marble fanes is in origin Byzantine. Of course the system broke down ; convictions were too stubborn to submit to imperial dictation, and the policy of the emperors was happily too inconsistent to give a permanent ply to Christian



faith in any direction of error. But a *modus vivendi* was established, and an almost sacramental conception of the bond between the secular and spiritual sides of life. For the first time there was accomplished, with whatever drawbacks, the creation of a state which fulfilled the function assigned it by Aristotle ; a state which, in all the relations of society, assisted its members in living a noble life. The ideal, surely, was a high one, and like all high ideals it failed of perfect performance. Sometimes the state encroached unduly, sometimes the clergy were unduly complaisant ; often enough the ideal was lost from sight. In other words, the Church was founded in the world, and had to work by weak and unworthy instruments. But we must judge, in common justice, by the best men and by the enduring purpose, and remember that this was a phase through which the Divine Society had to pass, and that to this phase we owe more, in doctrine and in discipline, than we are accustomed to remember.

It is scarcely reasonable to accept the fruit and then to quarrel with the necessary conditions of its growth. Yet this is what Mr. Hobhouse's thesis compels him to do, and he can see in this stage of the history of the Church nothing but a secularization. He denounces the notion that it was inevitable as a doctrine of fatalism ; yet all development in the expansion and organization of society, when broadly studied, is seen to be inevitable, and this evidence of a Divine purpose is among the most cogent grounds of faith. Mr. Hobhouse has another, and a recurrent, complaint, that the chief work of the Church in those generations was in being 'a great power for good in the world.' But, he continues, 'it is not the primary function of the Church to diffuse an elevating influence over the world. Its primary function is to make saints, and to preserve intact both its own existence as a Divine Society and also the treasure which it guards, in order that it may really *convert* the world.' This is hardly in accord with the wisdom of our missionaries. They have ceased to be cast down by backslidings among their converts, and are content to hope that the ideal may be approached after some generations of Christian heredity

and environment. The work of influence they regard as their 'primary function,' and they strive to lead their flock into that 'godly, righteous and sober life' of which our Prayer Book speaks. As for saints, let us bear in mind that in its higher degrees the saintly temperament is as much a form of genius as the poetical or the mathematical, and saints have sprung up and thriven, as often as not, in the least favourable of surroundings. As for the preservation of doctrine, we cannot fail to see that the Church retained and, what was quite as important, developed the truths committed to its charge, and so rose to Mr. Hobhouse's standard. As to preserving itself intact, in his sense, the notion would have been incomprehensible to the men of the time, and if they could have understood it, it would have seemed to them as mischievous as it was impossible. Our physical life, as we know, depends on elements combined in the air we breathe; and in that age, at any rate, a similar moral union was requisite for the existence equally of Church and State. The subtlety of a Church independently organized as an *imperium in imperio* was the invention of later brains.

This was equally the case in the age of barbarian conquest, of the worse side of which Mr. Hobhouse makes the worst. There was savagery enough, Christianity contaminated by superstition, ecclesiastical rulers dominated by secular potentates and using their own powers for secular ends. Mr. Hobhouse can look down upon it from above and condemn with dispassionate justice, though Hauck's great *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* would have shewn more points of light than appear in his picture. But we must ask whether, the teachers and the taught being what they were, any monitor such as he could have existed in the Dark Ages, and whether, could he have risen, it was possible for him to obtain a hearing. The men of that day were creatures of their time as obviously as we are creatures of ours; though we, living in an age of contradictory tendencies, cannot receive so consistent an impression as theirs. Their religion, in content and administration, was coloured by what was, to them, a normal and permanent civilization. Masters and pupils were on one level; there were none of the difficulties,

or the advantages, that accrue from a wide difference between them in a modern mission to Africa or the Pacific. Indeed, a common element, a share even in the prejudices and errors of their flock, was necessary for guides and governors who were to direct their people from a level no higher than their own ; and their very sympathy must have predisposed them to share the general mode of thought. A critical spirit would have rendered them powerless ; but the lives and legends of the saints, the latter true enough in the sense that they were believed, shew that the sense of history and probability was extinct. And so good men, and others who were good according to the standard of the age, threw themselves into the current of their age ; they aimed at power and wealth, they forged documents for the benefit of their cathedral or monastery or in some wider ecclesiastical interest, they intrigued and usurped and condoned the crimes of the great. The picture is a dark one, but again it was a phase through which Christendom had to pass, and it is vain for us to repine or condemn. It was the condition, and so far as we can see the necessary condition, of the higher life that was to follow.

As yet the development of national forms of Christianity had hardly begun, except in the East ; and there political and religious motives were inextricably intertwined. The revival of national feeling in Syria and Egypt expressed itself in the cultivation of the native languages, and in a growing hostility to the rule of Constantinople. That hostility was most emphatically displayed in a revolt against orthodoxy ; a patriotic Copt or Syrian was as little likely to subscribe ' Royalist ' creeds as a follower of William the Silent to adhere to the Church of Philip II. In the West, after the disappearance of Arianism, there was no such variance. The Church was cosmopolitan, more or less seriously acknowledging, at least in theory, the authority of Rome. And so it continued throughout the Middle Ages, of which Mr. Hobhouse draws a darkly impressive picture. The pomp and greed and monstrous claims of popes, cruelty and misery and superstition, are the prominent objects on the scene ; the protests were few and vain, because they

seemed to be aimed not against the corruption of society and the Church, but against those institutions themselves. The only effective protest could be that of retirement ; and the monks, *mutatis mutandis*, must be regarded as seceders, though both for good and evil their contact with the world and the world's with them was more frequent than the theory of their vocation could warrant.

Mr. Hobhouse holds that in all this evil the Church was a conscious agent. He personifies unsparingly. The Church was in too great a hurry, the Church was untrue to vital principles, wrong methods of conversion were adopted by the Church, the Church believed in magic, the Church was anxious prematurely to establish a world-wide Theocracy ; such are some of his assertions in his earlier lectures, and he does not analyze for our benefit the meaning of this abstraction, ' the Church.' Can it mean more or less than the authorities of the time being, mainly influential because they shared the thought of their age ? The parable of the leaven surely does not teach that the leaven itself is to do its work without undergoing change while it spreads through the measures of flour. And the strange world of the Middle Ages could not fail to influence the faith which leavened it. Often its influence was for good ; St. Francis, for instance, could not have been what he was in another environment. But the general result upon religion of that strangely childish life, with miracles as wonderful, and sometimes as repulsive, as its medicines, was on the whole unsatisfactory. It was essentially unprogressive, and therefore must needs decay. It could not be saved by a philosophy which shewed all the mental agility of a schoolboy as yet unburdened by facts and unconscious of the need of observation, nor by the exaltation of one side of Christian life, however necessary it may have been to raise the standard of clerical self-respect by emphasizing a Sacrament which was the priest's exclusive domain. Mr. Hobhouse is wise in denying a permanent authority to the practices and thoughts of the period of Papal domination. His thesis, in fact, requires him to do so, for Christendom, as he holds, has been running on the wrong lines ever since Constantine. Yet, after all, there was



such an infinity of good among all the evil, and of good which shines out the more conspicuously against the background of darkness, that we cannot reasonably detach it from the soil in which it grew or regard that soil as less than the predestined condition of its growth. Mistakes were made, and Mr. Maitland has shewn that our own forefathers were less rational in their obedience to the Papacy than we had commonly believed them to be ; while perhaps in time an equally frank and successful criticism will be applied to medievalisms which now dominate our Church life. But we need not take all this too seriously. They are just the mistakes—and we may say the same of aberrations in conduct—that men with such mental training and in such surroundings were sure to make. It is not fatalism or determinism, as Mr. Hobhouse unkindly says, but common sense that sees in so much that is deplorable a stage into which, and out of which, Christendom had to grow ; nor is it reasonable criticism to dissect out the evil and expose it to view as though it had existed alone and unqualified. That may be a method of ethics, but not of history, which tries to look at life as a living whole and remembers that in a procession of waves the trough is as inevitable as the crest.

The medieval system was essentially cosmopolitan ; in the famous words of Hobbes, ' the Papacy is none other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.' As an intellectual discipline it would be worth our while to reflect how often we use the word ' Catholic ' when we mean no more than ' cosmopolitan.' For the Rome of both ages nations did not exist ; there were only provinces. But in the secular order nations came into vigorous and fruitful existence, and a beginning was made of shaping the Churches, even in the darker ages, into this higher form. Those efforts were spasmodic and had little formal success, but in the later Middle Ages progress towards that end was made both in practice and in theory. When after Agincourt the saying ran through England, ' Now is the Pope become a Frenchman and Jesus an Englishman,' expression was given to the sense that foreign rule was incompatible with national life, and that the centre of

our religious organization ought to lie within the circumference. There was a long period before the Providential purpose of the establishment of a national Church in our country was accomplished; and when it came it brought with it its own disadvantages. Great as we feel the blessings of the Reformation to have been in all countries where it prevailed, we must recognize that the Reformers, like the men of the Middle Ages, were limited by the necessary conditions of their time. They were Augustinians, and St. Augustine was the advocate of intolerance; they were champions of the state, for there seemed no other lever by which to raise the Church from a degradation in which the Popes were well content to dwell, and from which they were among the last of prelates to emerge. The Reformers were men of the Renaissance, and among their supporters were men of Renaissance morality; Mr. Andrew Lang has reminded us that assassination was a weapon employed on both sides in the struggle. Their culture was neither higher nor lower than that of their contemporaries; the campaign against witchcraft was waged with equal ferocity by Romanist, Calvinist, and Lutheran on the Continent, nor was England free from this disgrace. Here again we see the influence of Christianity weakened and its progress distorted by circumstances over which it had no control. If there be a Providence, that Providence had designed that Christendom should pass through this phase, and we cannot lay our finger on any entity that we can name 'the Church,' and condemn because it did not perform the impossible feat of being independent of its environment. It is a further and a very weighty consideration that, so far as we can tell, this mixture of evil with good was the necessary antecedent of the liberation, both spiritual and intellectual, which has been the ultimate result of the Reformation.

For Mr. Hobhouse its chief result has been 'fatal disunion.' Even without a revolution, the gradual substitution of the national for the cosmopolitan idea would have brought about a practical, if not a theoretical, disunion; for it seems that his chief complaint is not against division

within the nations, but that of nation from nation. This last, a difficulty of more practical importance now than in former times, through collision in mission fields and among the emigrants of the New World, has been intensified for ourselves by the Oxford Movement. The organization of the ministry is now the sensitive point of our ecclesiastical consciousness. It has not always been so, and it may well be that in future times as languid an interest will be taken in this *differentia* as we take to-day in controversies that once divided our own and other Churches. Storm-centres shift, and Churchmen may grow as neutral as their Church. But, for the present, need we regard the state of affairs as intolerable? Is it not, like others that we have considered, a phase through which Christendom has to pass? And have we not attained, in more respects than we always remember, a reasonable *modus vivendi*? Patience with what we cannot hope to change may be a wiser spirit than an interest, however intelligent, in the weak points of our neighbour's system.

With the seventeenth century we reach the high tide of internal division. It used to be a good custom of our bishops to require their candidates for Orders to read Curteis' 'Bampton Lectures,' which explained with considerable skill and point the *raison d'être* of the various dissenting bodies. Now that there seems, more markedly it is true in the Colonies than at home, a tendency for the Church and some Nonconformist bodies to draw together, the topic is of even greater importance. And if it should come to pass, as some of those who most insist upon the episcopal transmission of Orders are willing to concede, that the bishop's authority and *ius liturgicum* be surrendered in the interests of unity, then the antecedent separation will have been the effective cause of a singularly momentous step in the history of our national Church; and those who acquiesce will have no right to quarrel with the conditions that brought it about. But apart from this, may we not see in the existence of the several Nonconformist bodies of the English-speaking world an evidence that they were designed to exist, and to grow on till the time comes, as we have the right to believe

that it will come, when they and we are ripe for reunion? Mr. Hobhouse is too good a scholar to repeat the stale fiction that the Wesleyans were driven from the Church; and the separation, largely under Continental influences, of the other bodies was as inevitable as theirs. We must explain these things by deeper than personal causes.

We may pass lightly over the history of our own Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The word 'Erastian' is now scattered more thickly over Mr. Hobhouse's pages. He has to reject Hooker's philosophy of the Church, and turns in preference to the advocates of 'the true principle of the voluntary character of religion.' He traces with sympathy, but with some impatience against the prejudices of which even the most liberal of legislators were inevitably slow to divest themselves, the progress of toleration. But this toleration, he holds, should have been nothing more than toleration. The inveterate mistake was made of recognizing Christianity as embodied in a national Church, and therefore of demanding a certain measure of control in return for the preference. To this 'Erastianism' is attributed the weakness of the Church, which left the vindication of spiritual independence to 'sectaries.' Whether the tone of the eighteenth century were not due to a recoil of public opinion, nauseated by a century and a half of theological strife, is a point which Mr. Hobhouse does not consider; nor does he take into adequate account the uniform prevalence of the torpor. In Protestant countries abroad it was deeper than in England, though perhaps not so deep as in Scotland; the English Dissenters were at least as much in need of a revival as the English Church; for the Roman Communion in France we need only turn to Taine, and we may congratulate ourselves that Henry VIII had made a Grandmont impossible in England; at Rome the Popes were chiefly employed in founding palaces and principalities for their nephews, the latest achievement of the kind being the work of Pius VI, who died in 1799. Since neither ecclesiastical authority nor spiritual independence could withstand the spirit of the age, we can hardly be persuaded that



our own poor Church succumbed to a peculiar disease of its own, or believe that without this specific Erastian virus, it would have thriven while others were drooping. But Mr. Hobhouse is still possessed with the obsolescent prejudice against the eighteenth century. The ecclesiastical specialist is always a little behind his time, yet we cannot doubt that the growing interest in that century, and appreciation of its great qualities, will in due course extend to its Churchmanship, and that we shall recognize in its massive learning and weighty reasoning one chief reason for the confidence we justly cherish, in its sacred music the evidence of a true and deep feeling, and in the steady and unobtrusive piety it maintained, far more widely than is commonly known, the solid foundation of later and more conspicuous movements. That century, then, has its necessary place in the scheme. If it was somewhat drab in its complexion, we may think of it as the chrysalis from which the Oxford Movement emerged.

It is needless to proceed, for no new elements enter into the calculation in later days. Our own generation is but a phase, conditioned by its predecessors and itself the antecedent of further and doubtless novel developments. Our generalization that the Church, launched into the current of a changing world, was to follow the stream, with no essential change and with a constantly saving and beneficent effect, is surely as true in one century as another. When all allowance has been made for failure through the perversity of bad men and the unreason of good, and also for the wide chapter of what seems accident, the fact is conspicuous that the Church has done the appointed work, has changed in doing it, and has been able to do it by virtue of the change. The change has been in every department of thought and action; to take a recent example, Bishop Westcott's attitude towards the evils of the world was as much nobler than that of other, and excellent, prelates in times not very remote as his insight into the mind of St. John was more profound than that of any divine of the Patristic age. This progress, and progress in and through contact with the

world and the state, is so great a fact that it is above our criticism as well as beyond our control. We must accept it; if we do not, thought is bankrupt and the ways of Providence unintelligible. Attempts to explain it away are really efforts to fix the mind upon a part, and that the worse part. To talk about a 'skin-deep Christianity' and a gain to civilization rather than to religion in the triumph of the Church, is really to make an artificial abstraction instead of looking facts in the face. For this is but one case, and by no means the most perplexing, of the problem of evil in the universe. The whole process must be contemplated as a whole, and, if we are to understand it, it must be contemplated with faith, and therefore with hope.

Little hope can be drawn from Mr. Hobhouse's destructive analysis. For sixteen hundred years the Church has been developing along wrong lines; a whole majestic system of thought and discipline has been spun out of delusion. We are irresistibly reminded of the thesis worked out with infinite skill and learning by Dr. Harnack, that Christian doctrine has had exactly the same history and therefore deserves exactly the same rejection. Birmingham has completed what Berlin began. It would be unjust to say that the two arguments stand or fall together, but they are singularly coherent, and he who is convinced by the one is likely to be satisfied with the other. The best safeguard is the assertion that these phenomena are too universal, too well approved as beneficent, to be assailable in this way. It is a postulate of thought that we are living in a rational order, and of Theism that this order is, in its broad lines and so far as it is not thwarted, devised by the supreme Wisdom.

Therefore we cannot assent to the proposition that the Church's history is the history of a mistake. It has been rough-hewn, no doubt, but still hewn in perceptible outline into the national form, and, so far as we can judge, its best hope is that there may come a further sense of national duty and national gifts into Christendom. But national Christianity is not, as Mr. Hobhouse seems to think, synonymous

with established Christianity. It is quite conceivable that a 'free' Church (free in the technical sense, for in reality no Church in Christendom is so free in all important matters as the English) might exercise a universal influence, extensive as well as intensive, over the members of its nation. It would not be the less national because of the absence of what had proved to be unessential attributes. It would be national because of the power it exercised, and it could not possess that power unless it had first claimed it, and claimed it with a good conscience and a full sense of right. To those who have that sense there can be nothing unreasonable in the recognition by the State of the historical position of a national Church. Nor will they be tempted by the very human impulse of imitation to wish their own Church disestablished because that has been the fate of some others, or see much force in the argument that establishments cannot be founded in the future. In fact, Germany and Switzerland have given official status and remuneration, on the same scale as to the clergy of the two dominant creeds, to the little Old Catholic community, and there is reason to expect that Austria will soon follow. This may not be quite logical nor very important, but it is sufficient to disprove the negative.

Mr. Hobhouse, as we saw, has his substitute for the abandoned ideal. There is to be what his school sometimes describe as the 'red-hot nucleus,' and round it are to gather the resolute adherents of the Church. The rest of mankind is to be regarded as outside; the members are to recognize one another by faith and sacrifice, and exclude from all active participation those who fail to reach the standard required. In other words, we are to put ourselves back into the days before Constantine, regardless of the fact that Providence has placed us in the twentieth century. But we must ignore the fact. Though the society around us calls itself Christian, in many senses is Christian, and actually challenges us to turn the claim into a reality, we must behave as though we neither heard nor saw. We are to assume that a blank paper is laid before us on which to design a new city of God, though the site on which it is to

stand is already covered with buildings and occupied by a population that has no will to be ousted.

Courage is needed for such a programme, and we must ask whether this courage is guided by sound judgement and has taken counsel of experience. For this is no new experiment; repeatedly the attempt has been made to concentrate the forces of Christianity. Sometimes voluntarily, as with the Montanists and the monks, sometimes after a forcible exclusion, as with the Non-jurors, small and enthusiastic societies have formed themselves, strong in unity of will and fenced off from the wide half-Christian society around them. In spite of zeal they have not thriven. There is always something of the mutual admiration society about them; the logic of their position has compelled them to enclose themselves still more tightly, and the hothouse atmosphere is lowering to vitality. Sooner or later there is a return to the broad and tolerant society that at first was scorned, and sometimes the little fellowship collapses in disgrace. Nor is smallness a security for unanimity. No strifes have been fiercer than those waged in little republics of ancient Greece; Cardinal Manning's relation to the Jesuits and those of Dr. Parker to the leaders of the 'down-grade movement' are typical of the spirit engendered in such societies. But such acrimony has never been better exemplified than in the Ultramontane controversy in France. Mr. Wilfrid Ward has expounded with admirable candour<sup>1</sup> the principles of such men as Veuillot of the *Univers* and the spirit in which they were advocated, and has shewn how their exclusiveness was in some measure shared by Mr. W. G. Ward, and how it was reproved by Newman, who insisted on the mixed character of the Church. The logic, though not the temper, of Veuillot is that of Mr. Hobhouse.

We may now examine, very briefly, the consequences of his policy. It points straight to schism, if *per impossibile* the attempt were made to carry it out in action. A multitude whose sympathies, so far as they go, and often they go far

<sup>1</sup> *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, chapter v. and especially p. 209.



indeed, are with the Church would be excluded from its fellowship. They would be told that they are in no sense its members ; that if they defend or support it they must do so from without. It would be an exclusion, not a secession. They would deny that they had ceased to be members of the Church, and many of its most loyal members would agree with them. The party of exclusion would be duly organized, with a fully constituted hierarchy, and would claim the sole title to the name of the Church of England. That name would also be claimed by the excluded and by their sympathizers, who would doubtless be provided with an ample leadership of bishops and clergy ; and this larger body could more plausibly claim so comprehensive a title as that of the National Church. In logic, indeed, the rigorists would reject a name which connotes comprehension, and an idea which arose during the period of error. But what would be the probable career of their Church ? Mr. Hobhouse admits that they would have no security against error ; they would certainly have none against the invasion of the world, even if immune from the contagion of the State. Hence the need of successive purgations, as drastic as that by which the communion was first formed, and an endless heritage of bitterness and secession. And yet this separation from the State need not secure either fervour or purity, and it might cause an insignificance that would gravely impair the power of appealing to the public conscience. Mr. Henry James in *The American Scene* more than once regrets the unobtrusiveness of Christianity in a country peculiarly free from the evils of an alliance between Church and State. Our American cousins, to all appearance, are on much the same level in religious matters as ourselves, and Mr. Hobhouse's panacea might reduce the Church to obscurity without any redeeming intensity of life.

The prospect is not encouraging, and it remains to indicate the mental process by which this point of view has been reached ; a point from which this delusive mirage is seen and whence Mr. Hobhouse beholds his fellow-churchmen in the unpleasant guise of more or less earnest Erastians. He seems to have been engaged in a highly praiseworthy

mental exercise. It is desirable, and even necessary, that from time to time everyone who is in earnest should return upon himself, should see the worse side of his character and of his undertaking, should put hypothetical cases to himself and heighten the colours both of good and evil. It is a subjective process, and its virtue evaporates when it ceases to be subjective. The permanent value is not in the imaginative construction, but in the moral impress which remains when the fabric of thought has disappeared and the world of realities has to be faced. It may become positively mischievous if the unreal, salutary in its own domain, should invade the sphere of actual work.

This mischief, we are convinced, has been wrought in the mind of Mr. Hobhouse. His grip of facts has been so loosened that he conceives it possible to wipe out sixteen centuries of heredity and experience. His judgement is so abstract and independent of history that he can believe that a society which is *ex hypothesi* Divine in its origin has been persistently misled; that it has not only fallen into error, but has built up a whole erroneous system of thought which has stereotyped the mistake and enabled it to masquerade as truth. He is not, we think, likely to find many adherents among ourselves. The men of eminently practical minds, of a sense of reality, of earnestness which has impressed our recent Church, have been otherwise minded. The lives and writings of Archbishop Temple and Dean Hook are studded with direct contradictions of Mr. Hobhouse's thesis; and his immediate predecessor as Bampton lecturer has stated their case with cogent clearness:—'Christianity fails in proportion as it tends to remain limited and exclusive, and succeeds in proportion as it tends to widen its influence over all classes and individuals and all departments of life.'

E. W. WATSON.

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ART. VIII.—THE CHURCH CONGRESS AFTER  
FIFTY YEARS.

THE Church historian of the nineteenth century has abundant cause to dilate upon the remarkable perils which the Anglican branch met and surmounted during that momentous period of change. But, in drawing his comparison between the Church of the first half and that of the second moiety of the century, he must dwell on the fact that whereas in the former it was voiceless, in the latter it found powers of utterance. Nothing strikes the student of the Oxford Movement in its first days more than the fact that amid all the din of controversy and mutual recrimination the Church of England never spoke. The bishops spoke for it, as a rule, individually, Convocation at Oxford spoke by its votes, a horde of writers and speakers lifted up their voice to declare the mind of the Church; but whether the Hampden controversy or the Jerusalem bishopric or the Gorham Judgement were the question of the hour, nobody knew what the mind of the Church of England really was. The revival of Convocation as a deliberative body in 1851 was the first step towards making the Church of England articulate, though the restoration even of an assembly so antiquated in its methods and so obsolete in its constitution was only accomplished in the teeth of much opposition. Then came a period of serious danger for the Church, far greater than that which had threatened it during the Tractarian movement, and the panic days of the so-called 'Papal aggression.' In 1853 the Liberation Society began its campaign in favour of disestablishment and disendowment with the attack upon Church rates, and it became evident that a struggle for existence, at any rate of the establishment, had commenced. The Tractarian movement had now begun to assume a popular in place of its original academic form, and the 'Ritualism' of the advanced clergy was provoking riots and disturbances in many parishes and threatening disruption in the Church. Nor were these dangers from without and within the most serious; the great wave of modern infidelity had begun to sweep over

Christendom, carrying destruction before it and leaving many cherished and venerable institutions either shaken to their very foundations or ruined in its track. Small as was the first Church Congress which assembled in the Hall of King's College, it was by no means the least important of the series ; and those who promoted it shewed remarkable foresight in organizing such an assembly. For it not only gave to the Church of England the power of speaking to the world, but it enabled those who had the Church's interest at heart to ventilate their ideas and discuss them with others who hitherto had been regarded as opponents, but frequently proved to be of one mind with themselves.

In theory, at least, the Congress is a thoroughly democratic institution. Anyone practically can belong to it—the more, the more welcome are they—and anyone has the right of demanding the opportunity to be heard. As there are no resolutions passed at its meetings, people can speak without sense of party responsibility, and say what they please without regard to the necessity of securing support. It gives the Church the chance of absolutely free discussion, and those in authority can not seldom ascertain the will of Church people by the reception certain views receive at the meeting. At the present Congress, for example, so vexed a question as Prayer Book revision may find its solution, since it was evident that the feeling of the meeting was in favour of the existing book remaining unchanged, and yet a desire that it should be enriched by an appendix providing further services and devotions suited to the requirements of our times. Though nothing is definitely settled on this point, the Congress is able to give a lead and to help forward legislation in the future. Nor is this all : the annual Congress does much to increase the amenities of intercourse between those who differ on important points of doctrine and practice. Never, perhaps, has any Christian body been able to embrace men of such various opinions as the Anglican Church. No one outside its pale can imagine how by any possibility it can hold together much longer ; but as the disruption has been predicted for many years and has not yet come, it may be presumed that the Church



of England may still weather many storms unshattered. The Congress has contributed in no small degree to preserving the integrity of the Anglican Communion ; for Churchmen when they come together begin to realize the strength of the unseen bond which unites them. The fervent Evangelical, the advanced High Churchman, the ultra-liberal theologian may respectively be drawn towards Protestant Nonconformity, Romanism, or Rationalism ; yet that which keeps each back is a sense of membership, the stronger perhaps because its power is hardly realized. Deep in the hearts of each is the feeling of membership with the national Church. It is almost inevitable that this should be experienced by all who attend a Congress.

Herein seems to be the strength of the Anglican community. Other bodies of Christians tend more and more to aim at uniting men of the same opinion ; the Church of England has the gift of combining men who differ. This is not due to establishment, for where there is no established church we find the same distinctive feature of the Anglican communion. In the United States, in the Colonies, in Scotland, in Ireland, the Church has its High, Broad, and Low Church elements ; what is lost in solidarity is gained in comprehensiveness, and sad as our divisions may appear, it would not be all gain to sacrifice the association of religious men, who thus differ and yet agree to remain in one body, for a uniformity which might tend to increasing narrowness of outlook. In the present great crisis through which Christendom is passing, when the claims, not of Church against Church but of non-Christianity against Christianity, are becoming increasingly insistent, the opportunity of the Church of England in shewing how its children can remain in one body solely by adhering to the very fundamentals of Christianity is one of the greatest value. The work of the Congresses of the past in keeping our branch of the Church together cannot be sufficiently emphasized.

For this reason it seems advisable not to dwell on the interesting history of the Congress movement or to discuss the recent meeting at Cambridge, but to inquire in what way future Congresses may become of increasing service to the

cause of the Church, as its mouthpiece and as a means of preserving unity amid diversity.

The Jubilee Congress at Cambridge has been admittedly a success. In one respect the ancient Universities have remained unaltered—namely in the tradition of hospitality. In this sense every college in Oxford and Cambridge is thoroughly monastic. Even permission to marry, of which so many fellows of colleges have availed themselves, has been powerless to extinguish the feeling that the duty of their societies to entertain guests is one of their greatest privileges. Every hall has been filled during the Congress week by old members of the college, by their friends, and by members of other Universities. Men have sat together in college rooms far into the night discussing, at one time the proceedings of the Congress, at another old friends, and reviving memories which for some decades have remained in a state of suspended animation. It was certain, therefore, that with such opportunities the Congress would be a full one and that it will rank with many as a most joyous experience.

But after all this is admitted it must be borne in mind that the chief object of a Congress is not to be a social success but to further the work of the Church, and the test of the excellence of such a gathering must be the progress it has made in that direction. Thus the first Congress gave an impetus to one of the most important movements of the latter half of the nineteenth century in advocating the extension of the Episcopate. This has completely transformed the whole conception of the episcopal office in the Church of England. For centuries the Anglican bishops had been the embodiment of dignified detachment. Their dioceses were in many cases absolutely unworkable from their extent, their rank placed them out of the reach of common folk and made familiar intercourse between themselves and the ordinary working priests practically impossible. Nothing but the multiplication of bishops could have broken these barriers down; but now the bishop has become more and more one of the working clergy and a real father in God upon earth to them instead of a

remote personality, almost as far from the parish minister as if his palace or castle were situated above the clouds of heaven. A Congress which could start so salutary a movement would be more justly considered a success than one at which a myriad tickets were sold and half a dozen excursions to places of interest had been admirably conducted amid all the best conditions of an Indian summer.

Not that the amenities of a Congress gathering should be despised. Much good work is done amid pleasurable surroundings. Friendships are made, cemented and renewed, and the crowd separates with mutual feelings of good will; but something more practical is demanded of so great an opportunity as such an assembly affords. One of the most important things is the choice of subjects, and at the recent Congress a wise selection was especially desirable. The occasion was unique. After forty-nine years the Church Congress returned to its first home. The imagination is fired at the thought of the difference of the Cambridge of 1861 and the University town which welcomed Churchmen in 1910. Then Whewell, as Master of Trinity, dominated the whole University by his masterful character and encyclopedic knowledge; James Amiraux Jeremie filled the chair of Regius Professor of Divinity, now so worthily occupied by Dr. Swete; William Selwyn, a brilliant Etonian classical scholar, was Margaret Professor, and now another member of the same great school occupies the same position in the person of Dr. Inge. Harold Browne had not yet gone to Ely and was Norrisian Professor as Professor Burkitt is to-day, and William Hepworth Thompson, Whewell's successor in the Mastership, sat as Regius Professor of Greek in the Chair now filled by another Trinity scholar, the much-loved and trusted Henry Jackson. Then Lightfoot had just begun his brilliant work as a divinity professor, the first on the remodelled foundation of Mr. Hulse. Westcott was still a master at Harrow and Hort a country clergyman. Charles Kingsley was Professor of Modern History, and King Edward VII was entering upon his Cambridge career. The mere recapitulation of such names as these makes us consider the gain and loss of the last half-century and helps us to estimate

the vastness of the change in educated thought during that period. When further we remember that in 1861 the University was a clerical institution mainly supported by the landed and professional classes, that its curriculum was restricted practically to classics and mathematics, and that only the faintest outlines of its present comprehensiveness had been traced by the Commission of 1858, the contrast appears almost too great for those who know the Cambridge of to-day justly to realize. In these circumstances it is to be regretted that the present Congress did not set before itself some single aim in order to make the Jubilee meeting of unique interest. To have used this opportunity to compare the present with the past and to have tried to see how the Church of the future could be developed on the lines laid down by the first Congress, with due consideration of the difficulties of the present day, would have made this Congress an assembly which might have inaugurated a new epoch in the life of the Church. As it is, the subjects seem to have been selected without any particular unity of object, with the sole idea of satisfying as many interests as possible, and with the result of producing a general impression that the proceedings have been a trifle uninteresting and remarkably futile.

At present the choice of subjects is left to a Committee mainly taken from the neighbourhood in which the Congress is about to meet, and this gives a certain note of provincialism to each gathering, which is out of place when one considers that a Congress is not, after all, a local but a national assembly. Nominally each diocese appoints representatives, but as these seem to have no duties and are not consulted, all rests with the Selection Committee practically appointed by the Bishop of the Diocese. Were there to be a Central Committee meeting in London, to choose subjects for every Congress to which the inviting diocese were allowed to send special delegates, it would be able to take a wider survey of the situation, and perhaps to give each meeting a greater unity of aim and purpose. As it is, a Congress almost always tries to embrace too wide a field and loses in power and concentration thereby.



If, however, it is deemed desirable to continue to have every topic of the day dealt with by each Congress it might be of advantage to adopt the sectional method of the British Association and of the Pan-Anglican Congress. If there were three main sections— theological, social, and ecclesiastical—it would be possible to do justice to certain subjects at every successive Congress. Missions, for example, need more than a single meeting at a Congress if this vast subject is to be treated in a scientific spirit. This year the subject chosen was India, always of paramount interest to English Christians, particularly when missionary work is rendered especially difficult by the nationalist movement and the general unrest throughout that Empire. But surely in two other fields the need for activity is still more pressing at the present juncture even than in Hindostan. In China the opportunity for missionary advance is one which is as exceptional as it is fleeting. In the vast changes which are in process in that immense country all depends on whether the Christian claims are properly presented within the next few years. Efforts are being made to establish at least three Universities for the Chinese in Han-kow, Hong Kong, and in the province of Se-Chuen. By their means it is to be hoped that the educated classes may be won, if not directly to Christianity itself, at least to Christian ideals. The Universities not only in England but throughout Europe and America are being interested in promoting Chinese education; and assuredly the opportunity of arousing enthusiasm in such a cause should not have been lost in Cambridge. Even more serious is the position in Canada. It may not be long ere the Dominion becomes one of the greatest countries in the world. Barren wastes are becoming covered with prosperous farmsteads, towns are sprung up in what a few years ago were trackless deserts. On what is done now depends the Christianity of a new English-speaking race. Yet at the very time when the Archbishop of Canterbury is urging on the Church the duty of sending its sons to work in Canada, now that the Canadian church is celebrating its 200th anniversary, not one word has been said at the recent Congress! Had we but a section for Missions,

China and Canada would surely not have been thus neglected !

In the choice of speakers there is much left to be desired. What is needed seems to be greater courage and originality in their selection. As a rule, the great successes at a Congress are scored by persons comparatively unknown to the public, and the efforts of the Selection Committee should be directed to discover not the person who is most before the world, but some one who really has fresh ideas to communicate. As a rule, the first names welcomed are those which are in everybody's mouth, especially of speakers who are felt to be perfectly certain to say nothing very startling. This must always be the case when the choice is made locally. No diocesan bishop, for example, likes to be responsible for introducing some one whose views are considered unorthodox into the Congress over which he presides. What is needed, however, is a constant infusion of new blood and especially the introduction of young men of fresh ideas and abilities. When a Congress meets in a University town this is especially desirable, for what the world wants to know is not so much the opinion of the aged pundits as what the coming generation is thinking of. In a learned society, if its intellectual life is really strong, the older men are chiefly interesting as binding us to the past, since if their successors are worthy of being their successors, they will soon make their work obsolete by the advance they, in their turn, make in the different sciences. In Theology this is especially true ; and interesting as it is to learn what the matured wisdom of this or that professor has attained, the real importance is to forecast what the boldness of some young and perhaps obscure student or teacher is about to conjecture. Thus in the important discussion on Eschatology it is not enough that the Congress should be informed what such veteran scholars as the Bishop of Birmingham and Dr. Stanton think of the new theories of Schweitzer, without ascertaining their effect on the coming generation of theologians.

As regards the discussions much improvement is desirable and possible. They are necessarily restricted to a comparatively short time and the greater part of this is occupied

by papers. At an evening sitting when ten minutes or more have been occupied by the opening devotions, and eighty by four papers of some twenty minutes each, very little time is left for discussion or criticism. It is, moreover, extremely difficult to read papers in such a way as to rivet the attention of a large audience, and it is no small strain on the latter to have to listen for an hour and twenty minutes, especially when the subject is from its nature somewhat intricate. It would appear also that in some cases the writers of papers have not conferred with one another before coming to the Congress and, consequently, there is a certain amount of repetition which wastes valuable time. If the papers were to be two in number only and were so written as to introduce the subject to the audience, and if, further, an even shorter time were given for reading them, there would be more time and scope for discussion. With fewer papers it might be possible that summaries of the arguments should be given to those present, the papers taken as read, and the writers asked to introduce their subject by speeches. This would add greatly to the time for discussion, and invited speakers might be also heard. Even uninvited speakers might be encouraged to send in their names before the meetings as well as at the time, and thus be given more time for arranging their ideas. Every effort should be made to render the debates as free and interesting as possible.

It is almost a matter of regret that the sermon by the Archbishop of York was not preached to the organizers of the Congress before they began their work rather than to the Congress itself, since it gave the right note for a Congress meeting at the present time. It was not alarmist or pessimistic, yet all the while the preacher was evidently aware of the perils of our age. At any time a cloud may arise no bigger than a man's hand to the eye, and yet be destined to break in all the fury of a mighty storm. Churchmen do not set the store they did on the Establishment, on the connexion with the State; but, none the less, should Disestablishment come, it may well do so with something of the fury which has laid the Church in France low even to the dust. It is a danger we are bound to foresee not in any cowardly spirit of

acquiescence but in one of preparation, of determination to avert it if possible, and to rise undaunted from the ruins should we suffer defeat. It may even be that when the Church is placed in opposition to the State and threatened with the loss of property and prestige, the catastrophe may be brought about because the English Church is resolved to stand or fall not on some point of discipline, but on the fundamentals of morality or faith. Whatever criticism may be passed on the recent Congress it can at least be urged that in it the Church of England has realized that, as his Grace truly said, it is a national Church, even if some deny it the name of the Church of the nation. It has accepted the duty, which it has never shirked, of the care of the poor, the unfortunate, the guilty, and the feeble-minded; it has emphasized the duty of national service; it has sounded a note of much-needed warning against the appalling danger of race suicide, which seems to be the curse of every nation which forsakes God. It may be, however, that it will be the part of the Church not only to stand up for national righteousness, but to suffer in its cause, and that the supreme test of its readiness to do so is when family life is threatened by legislation in obedience to a popular demand. It may be also that when it is realized that the Church can speak and act as a corporate body the nation may unmistakably declare itself on its side. The work of every Congress is to foster this spirit of unity in essentials, and that this may be the key-note of the Congresses of the future, must be the prayer of all who have the true interests of the Church at heart.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

### I.—BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis.* By JOHN SKINNER, D.D. 'International Critical Commentary.' (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1910.) 12s. 6d.

DR. SKINNER'S volume does honour to English Biblical scholarship. Indeed, it would be difficult to conceive a commentary



on this the most difficult book of the Old Testament more carefully planned and dealing more fully and judiciously with the various problems which call for consideration. Introduction and commentary together occupy more than 600 pages, and the amount of matter in small print is considerable; but every word has been carefully weighed, and the writer appears never to have avoided or missed any point of difficulty upon which the reader of such a commentary might reasonably look for information. The introduction contains all that is to be expected in the way of discussion of the sources and composition of Genesis, the historical or legendary character of its narratives, and the value of myth and legend in the presentation of religious truth. Dr. Skinner has purposely avoided discussion of the old controversies as to the compatibility of the earlier chapters of Genesis with the conclusions of modern science, partly because these are no longer, to his mind, a living issue, and partly because the subject has been so fully and sufficiently handled by Dr. Driver in the 'Westminster Commentary.' 'Rather more attention has been given to the recent reaction against the critical analysis of the Pentateuch,' as represented by Dr. Orr, Dr. Eerdmans, and others; but students will be glad to find that a large space has not been expended in the proving of positions which have again and again been proved in time past, since Dr. Skinner is 'very far from thinking that that movement, either in its conservative or its more radical manifestation, is likely to undo the scholarly work of the last hundred and fifty years.' In the commentary it is difficult to select any single point for mention rather than another; but perhaps the most striking feature is the clear manner in which the writer demonstrates that the old main documents must themselves have been composite in origin. Thus it seems to be proved that there is a stratum of J which knew nothing of the Flood (*cf.* p. 133 on *c.* v 29; p. 141 on *c.* vi 1-4; p. 182 on *c.* ix 20-27); and due recognition is accorded to the view advocated by Dr. E. Meyer, that there are in Genesis 'sporadic traces of a divergent tradition which ignored the Exodus' (*cf.* pp. 418, 422, 450, 507). The extended notes may also be mentioned as of very great value.

Dr. Skinner's volume will doubtless stand for many years as the most exhaustive commentary on Genesis which we possess in English, and will run into many editions. The reviewer, therefore, ventures to make a few suggestions in points of detail which seem to him susceptible of revision.

The Babylonian verb 'to make' should be *epēšu* and not *ipišu* (p. 15). On p. 86 it is stated that the Hivvites 'were probably a serpent-tribe,' and this view is again mentioned with favour on p. 216. Is this really probable as against the view that these people were dwellers in *ḥavvōth* (Bedouin encampments), against which no valid objection can be urged? In mentioning the myth of Adapa (p. 92) as illustrating Babylonian speculation as to the reason why man missed the gift of immortality, Dr. Skinner might have made reference also to the passage in the Gilgameš Epic (*Tab.* xi. ll. 279 ff.), where Gilgameš actually gains possession of the magic herb which is able to confer the gift, and then unfortunately loses it again. The note on the word used for 'ship' in the Babylonian Flood legend (p. 160) is far from clear. Dr. Skinner states that he is informed by Dr. Johns 'that while the word is written as the determinative for "ship," it is not certain that it was pronounced *elippu*. He thinks it possible that it covers the word *tabû*,' etc. Here 'determinative' gives no sense; and doubtless what Dr. Johns intended was that the ideogram GIŠ. MA., ordinarily read in Babylonian as *elippu*, 'ship,' might also stand for *tabû*, 'processional barque' of the gods, and that this may have been the Babylonian equivalent in the Flood narrative, just as in the Hebrew narrative Noah's Ark is *tēbā*. On pp. 173, 178 the sign of the rainbow is said to be absent in the Babylonian Flood legend. It seems, however, not unlikely that the rainbow is intended by the jewelled necklace of Ištar, which she lifts up and by which she swears that she will never forget the days of the Flood:

'As soon as the mistress of the gods arrived,  
She lifted up the great gems which Anu had made after her  
desire:

"O ye gods, as truly as I shall not forget the lapislazuli of my neck,  
So truly on these days will I think for ever and not forget."<sup>1</sup>

In the note (p. 330) on the words explaining *Jehovah jireh*, Gen. xxii 14, Dr. Skinner states that they 'yield no sense appropriate to the context'; and then gives three suggested renderings, all of which 'are obviously unsatisfactory.' No mention, however, is made of the rendering of R.V., 'in the mount of the Lord it shall be provided' (i.e. 'provision shall be made'). This rendering is certainly possible, and seems to the present writer so obviously correct as to preclude the possibility of any

<sup>1</sup> Lines 163 ff. Cf. Mr. Ball's note in *Light from the East*, p. 40.

other interpretation. The meaning 'it shall be provided' (lit. 'shall be seen') is substantiated by *v.* 8, 'God shall provide himself (lit. "see for himself") a lamb'; and by 1 Sam. xvi 1, 'for I have provided myself (lit. "seen for myself") a king among his sons.' In the explanation (p. 409) of the name Israel, *c.* xxxii 29, the rendering 'thou hast striven with God' is preferred to 'thou hast persisted, etc.' This latter, however, is the only rendering which can be supported by the Arabic analogy (cf. Driver *ad loc.*), and is the more consonant with *v.* 27, where it is Jacob's *persistence* which gains the blessing.

*The Law and the Prophets, or, the Revelation of Jehovah in Hebrew History from the earliest Times to the Capture of Jerusalem by Titus.* Being the work entitled *Jéhovah*, by Professor WESTPHAL of Montauban, translated and adapted by CLEMENT DU PONTET. (Macmillan and Co. 1910). 8s. 6d. net.

IN this book we have a constructive attempt to trace the gradual unfolding of the moral and spiritual element in Israel's religion from the earliest times up to the coming of our Lord. The writer adopts, with certain reservations, the main critical results of the more moderate school of Biblical scholars. The history of Old Testament religion is represented as a conflict between *Elohism* and *Jehovism*, these terms, as used by Professor Westphal, being 'understood in a purely historical and religious sense to represent the two opposite conceptions of God, which continued side by side throughout the history of Israel. The one, *Elohism*, was the natural popular and primitive religion of the Patron-God (Elohim). The other, *Jehovism*, was the revelation through the ministry of the Prophets, the religion of the Living God (Jehovah)' (p. 25). Working along this line, Professor Westphal has much to say which is of great value for the right understanding of the Old Testament, and the spiritual and moral truths that it has to convey. Where he fails, is in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between *Jehovism* and *Elohism*, and in refusing to recognize the fact that even the religion of the prophets only gradually emerged from the associations of primitive religious belief and culture. Thus we find him committing himself to many statements for which not a particle of evidence can be alleged, and to many which stand in direct contradiction to the evidence that we possess. It is not the case, for example, that the 'forerunners of the Hebrew prophets' in Samuel's age 'went through the land

censuring the *ephod*, and pouring contempt on *urim* and the paraphernalia of divination which wrung answers from heaven for a money payment' (p. 238). The statement that 'as regards a pre-Mosaic Jehovah, history gives not the slightest hint' (p. 158), is directly negatived by the fact that the old document J supposes the name to have been used from the earliest ages, and by the evidence which has come and is still coming to light from Babylonian sources. It may be noticed also that Professor Westphal's theory leads him to construct (pp. 232 f.) an entirely new version of the career of Samson, drawn from his own imagination, and to prefer (pp. 242 ff.) the account of the institution of the kingship which represents it as contrary to the theocratic ideal, rather than the account which clearly belongs to the more primitive strand of narrative in 1 Samuel, and which represents the king as the divinely appointed deliverer from the yoke of the Philistines.

In working out the antithesis between the prophetic and priestly types of religion Professor Westphal appears to be wilfully blind to the fact that, with all the limitations of post-exilic Judaism, it yet contained much that was divinely adapted to form part of the preparation for Christianity, and much that was deeply spiritual in character, as is witnessed by many of the Psalms. Whilst alluding to the Psalms, we may notice that, in Appendix III., Professor Westphal mentions thirty-nine Psalms as 'certainly' to be ascribed to David. Readers scarcely need to be reminded that we cannot speak 'certainly' of the authorship of any single Psalm; and, in regard to the probability or even possibility of ascribing to David a small number of the Psalms that are mentioned, the large consensus of opinion among scholars is not with Professor Westphal.

The reader must also be on his guard against numerous mistakes in detail. Thus, it is not *textual* criticism which leads us to recognize the composite character of many of the Old Testament books (pp. 12, 41); Ramses II and Sesostri are scarcely to be identified (pp. 118, 154, 167); it is not probable that the Hittites were related to the Hyksos, though this is stated as though it were a commonly recognized fact (p. 217); *asheroth* is not the plural form of *asherah* (p. 250), the one occurrence of this form (Judg. iii 7) being doubtless an error for *Ashtaroth*; and the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* might well turn in his grave if he knew that his work was described (p. 402) as a product of the school of the Sadducees, seeing that the tenets of this school appear to have been regarded by him with the strongest aversion.



The translations of Babylonian texts (pp. 53 f., 155) are very faulty. To take one example only—in the extract from the Flood legend we read, 'Then *Musherinanamari* rose up from the foundations of the sky in a dark cloud.' This strange proper name (!) stands for *mimmu sheri ina namari* (literally, 'something of dawn in the shining'), i.e. 'When the first streak of dawn shone forth, there rose up from the foundation of heaven a dark cloud.'

It is regrettable to be obliged to chronicle such faults as these when the book contains so much that is of value, as for example the excellent words on the progressive character of Revelation (pp. 16–22), the summary of the right way to regard the patriarchal narratives (pp. 109 f.), and the sections on Elijah (pp. 272 f.) and Ezekiel (pp. 339 ff.). The book is well worth a drastic revision; and, if this were carried out, it might become an invaluable guide to those who are engaged in teaching and preaching from the Old Testament.

*The Wisdom of Solomon.* In the Revised Version, with Introduction and Notes. 'Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.' By the Rev. J. A. F. GREGG, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 1909.) 2s. 6d. net.

WE welcome the extension of the useful 'Cambridge Bible' to include the Apocrypha. The present volume is a sound and scholarly edition of perhaps the most remarkable product of Hellenism, and well maintains the generally high level of the series. The terse and apposite notes shew considerable research, and an Introduction of some fifty pages deals ably with the outstanding topics. There is abundant illustration from Philo, the writer who has most in common with pseudo-Solomon, and the contrast between the two is well brought out: 'Philo thinks over-much, the author of Wisdom has no system and lacks precision of thought: the former is a philosopher, the latter a rhetorician.'<sup>1</sup>

On the important question of date we are in complete agreement with Mr. Gregg, having on quite other grounds, *viz.* an orthographical detail,<sup>2</sup> arrived at precisely the same result.

<sup>1</sup> P. xx, cf. the note on ix. 15.

<sup>2</sup> The interchange of *οὐθεῖς* and *οὐδεῖς*: the MS. evidence indicates that both forms stood in the autograph. Now, the papyri shew that from 300–133 B.C. *οὐθεῖς* was almost universal, while after 100 B.C. *οὐδεῖς* was normal; in the transitional period (132–100 B.C.) both forms were employed as in Wisdom.

Mr. Gregg gives two reasons for assigning a date between 125 and 100 B.C.: (1) This allows time for the development of the Logos doctrine, which appears fully developed in Philo but is absent from Wisdom. (2) The book displays a strong antipathy to the Egyptians, and certain passages 'were evidently written by way of consolation to sufferers.' The academic treatment of the subject suggests that persecution is over, though the memory of it still rankles. This points to the close of the reign of Ptolemy Physkon (Euergetes II, 146-117 B.C.), the first known persecutor of the Jews in the dynasty. And here we may go further than Mr. Gregg. Professor Mahaffy has shewn that the policy of this monarch was the rehabilitation of the native population at the expense of Hellenistic settlers and Jews—'Egypt for the Egyptians.' Under his rule Egyptian temples were built or restored apace: under him we first hear of natives doing violence to Greeks and Greeks adopting Egyptian names. His death seems to have brought a reaction and Jews are again found in favour at court (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, 4). Surely this reinstatement of the national religion sheds light on the long and bitter tirade against Egypt and the folly of its animal-worship with which Wisdom closes. We are inclined to fix the date soon after Physkon's death, and to see in the writer's address to 'kings' an appeal to the two youthful claimants to the throne. Anyhow, he was apparently a contemporary of the Greek translator of the other Wisdom book which follows his in our Apocrypha.

*La Résurrection de Jésus.* By l'Abbé E. MANGENOT. (Paris: G. Beauchesne et Cie. 1910.) 4s. 6d. net.

M. MANGENOT has collected in book form a series of eight articles which appeared from time to time in the *Revue pratique d'Apolo-gétique*, and has added to them two Appendices on the Crucifixion and Ascension of our Lord. His method, both in the main section of the book and, in a less degree, in the Appendices, is to isolate and examine the evidence of St. Paul before dealing with the Gospel records. In this he is wise and, on the whole, convincing. St. Paul is our earliest literary witness for the Resurrection, and he claims to have tradition behind him. If his evidence breaks down, there is a strong probability that the later documents will be found wanting. M. Mangelot claims to have shewn how valuable is the testimony of the Pauline Epistles, not only for the fact of the Resurrection, but also for the Resurrection on the Third Day. It is true, as Professor

Lake observes, that the chronology of the appearances given in 1 Cor. xv is vague, and that one cannot say with certainty that the first of them took place within twenty-four hours of the Resurrection; but inasmuch as St. Paul says nothing of the Empty Tomb, yet insists on the exact date of Christ's rising, it is only reasonable to conclude that St. Paul regarded the appearance to Cephas at least as having occurred on Easter Day. Why he omitted all mention of the Empty Tomb is not difficult to guess. He was concerned with the questions which would be asked about the Risen Lord, and the first question would always be, 'Who saw Him risen?'

One interesting fact emerges from a study of the Pauline evidence—that St. Paul drew both on Jerusalem and on Galilean tradition. If he speaks of an appearance 'to above five hundred brethren at once,' that could hardly have been in Jerusalem, where 'the number of the names' after the Ascension was about a hundred and twenty.

We are inclined to quarrel with M. Mangelot on one point—his language about the Resurrection Body, as men were privileged to see it. To say 'The Conversion of Saul of Tarsus is only justified by a real *and corporal* appearance of the Risen Jesus' is as dangerous as to say, 'This sharing of the Spirit of Christ is more than a conformity of life, of tendency, and of direction; it is the real *and physical* presence of this Spirit in the man who is justified': though we gladly admit the distinction between the appearance on the road to Damascus and the other visions (2 Cor. xii) which St. Paul disparages.

In dealing with the Gospels, M. Mangelot is not quite so happy. He tries—most wisely—to reconcile what seem conflicting accounts only 'dans les grandes lignes.' But, even under these conditions, differences still remain, and the attempt which he makes to explain them on the ground of 'literary procedure' is unsatisfactory in itself and capable of extension to other fields where M. Mangelot would be sorry to see it applied. M. Mangelot is a very conservative critic. He clearly holds Psalm xvi to be of Davidic authorship, and he has a lurking belief in the authenticity of the last twelve verses of St. Mark. It is not to be expected that he should be sympathetic towards modern criticism as developed by its latest masters.

The book is interesting and learned, but it is vitiated by two great faults. The author has a horror of M. Loisy and all his works. Perhaps he is right, but he talks so much of *Les Évangiles Synoptiques* that in the end we become inclined to

agree with M. Loisy, and to desert his uncompromising opponent. And over every page there is the trail of the Holy Office. When we read a sentence such as the following: 'Independently of the special reasons for not limiting the idea of the kingdom to the eschatological side, *the anti-Christian consequences of M. Loisy prevent us from accepting it,*' we seem to be reading something out of the Decree *Lamentabili*. Truth cannot prevail, unless men are prepared to go where their argument leads them.

Mr. Conybeare on Mark iii. 21 and Luke xi. 27, 28: *some Positive Methods of a Negative Critic*. By the Rev. O. R. VASSALL-PHILLIPS, B.A., Balliol College, Oxford, Priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. (Oxford: Hubert Giles; London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co. Ltd. 1910.) 1s.

FR. VASSALL-PHILLIPS replies vigorously to Mr. Conybeare's assertion that, in the passages in question, our Lord rebuked His mother 'bitterly,' and that she had 'voted Him to be insane.' The latter charge rests on the translation of ἐξέστη in St. Mark iii 21, which Mr. Conybeare interprets as, 'He is out of His mind' (i.e. practically it = *μαίνεται*). Fr. Vassall-Phillips further contends that our Lord's mother is not necessarily included among οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ, and that she had no part in saying ἐξέστη, or in seeking to 'arrest her Son' (κρατῆσαι). His interpretation of St. Mark iii 21 is that 'amongst a company of kinsmen, *some of whom* thought that Jesus was "out of Himself," and that . . . He had lost his head in a burst of enthusiasm, stood His Blessed Mother, perhaps anxious for His physical well-being' (p. 25). 'Εξέστη, in the minds of οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ at any rate implied some degree of spiritual excitement, of being carried out of oneself for the time being; and certainly our Lord's 'friends' were concerned about Him on this account. It is difficult to pronounce conclusively on the point, apart from prepossessions; but Fr. Vassall-Phillips would have done well had he been content to shew that Mr. Conybeare had expressed too definitely and too extremely the precise reason for the anxiety of our Lord's 'friends.' As it is, he writes with too much heat. Phrases like 'perverted imagination,' 'disgraceful words so repulsive in their profane flippancy,' '*Pontifex Maximus* of the Rationalistic *infideles*,' are far removed from a dispassionate criticism, which would have been so much more effective. Both Mr. Conybeare and his critic have erred in



divergent directions of emphasis and 'dogmatism'; whereas the truth, so far as the actual text reveals it, lies in the zone of temperate exegesis and expression.

*The Epistle to the Galatians.* Edited by A. LUKYN WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Guilden Morden and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Durham. 'Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges.' (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1910.) 3s. net.

MR. LUKYN WILLIAMS—who adheres to the 'North-Galatian' theory—has added a concise and scholarly volume to the Cambridge series. Most of the Pauline epistles, and not least that to the Galatians, are full of difficulty for the youthful student; and editions like the present, however excellent, tend to miss the mark in one important respect. To the school-boy, and also to his elders, St. Paul's epistles seem highly artificial and out of all relation to his spirit and modes of thought. This is largely due to the too great conventionalism of the average commentary; insufficient attention is given to a living and vivid presentation of the historico-theological *milieu*, and to disengaging the permanent element in an epistle from the intensely local character of its setting; e.g. 'the Law' seems, even to a grown-up reader, a curiously remote abstraction. Much could be done in the way of improvement by fuller accounts of Judaism and Rabbinism. As it is, the uninformed mind is apt to wonder why the chains of legalism were so strong, and why the Apostle is so often compelled to clothe his message in such unfamiliar garb. Mr. Lukyn Williams has done his duty well, within the bounds which such a series involves. A larger task awaits those who would seek to differentiate the temporary from the permanent elements in St. Paul's contribution to Christian thought.

*The Ephesian Canonical Writings.* The 'Moorhouse Lectures' for 1910. By ARTHUR VINCENT GREEN, M.A. (Melb.), LL.D. (Syd.), Bishop of Ballarat. (London: Williams and Norgate.) 5s. net.

THE thesis which Dr. Green here elaborates is that the Johanne literature is the product of the Ephesian school of theology, which owed its rise to the influence and teaching of St. John. To summarize his views about the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, . . . 'there is evidence enough to indicate a common home of origin, but not enough to show a common authorship'

p. 15). The Fourth Gospel is perhaps the work of one of St. John's followers (most likely a native of Jerusalem), who, shortly after his master's death, put his teaching into writing (p. 111). Dr. Green argues for the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse, inclines to a cautious belief that its author may have been the Apostle John (pp. 177-183), and denies that it is an 'apocalyptic patch-work quilt' (p. 224).

We congratulate the Bishop of Ballarat on these lectures. He gives the main results of modern research in a simple, lucid fashion, and his constructive work is no less attractive. As popular lectures they are models, and we hope that they will fall into the hands of many laymen, who are only too liable to catch at the crude results of critical extremism. Dr. Green does not hesitate to accept what seem to him to be legitimate inferences, and to set them out firmly and persuasively, and he politely declines to be bound by traditionalism against his better judgement. His guiding rule is this: 'The Spirit of Christ is the Spirit of Truth, and the basis of a true religion can never be found in questionable history and unsound principles of interpretation' (p. 7).

## II.—ARCHAEOLOGY AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

*Studies in Galilee.* By E. W. G. MASTERMAN, M.D., etc., with a Preface by GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D. (The University of Chicago Press. 1910.) 4s. 3d. net.

To readers of the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* the name of Dr. Masterman will be a familiar one; they will know that there are few men who can write with greater authority on subjects connected with the topography of Palestine. Dr. Masterman has lived in the Holy Land for nearly twenty years; and he has for some time past been making a special study of Galilee, its physical features, routes, villages, and ruins, as well as its people and their customs. The book before us gives the result of these researches. It comprises seven chapters: the first deals with the physical features of the district, the second with the inland fisheries of Galilee; the next three describe Gennesaret, Capernaum, and Chorazin and Bethsaida, respectively; chapter VI. discusses the very interesting subject of the ancient synagogues of Galilee; while the concluding chapter is entitled 'Galilee in the time of Christ.' These chapters are not all on the same level of excellence; of some

it must be said (and this applies especially to the first two), that the mass of minute detail somewhat detracts from the interest of the important topics of which they treat. Specialists will not complain of this, but the ordinary reader may; and we are assuming that it is primarily for the latter that the book has been written. However this may be, the book abounds in interesting matter, and to some of this we propose to draw attention. To those who are not familiar with what may be called the ethnological condition of Palestine, and especially of Galilee, Dr. Masterman's account of the mixed population at present living there will come as a surprise. He says :—

‘ In Lower Galilee most of the inhabitants are either Moslems, Christians, or Jews. But when we reach the confines of Upper Galilee many new elements appear. At Rameh, Beit Jinn, el Bukei’a, and elsewhere, we come across Druzes. In Safed, besides Jews, from all parts of the world, and native Moslems, there are Kurds and Algerians. In the villages, on the high thoroughfare to the north, there is a new religion or race in every second village. At Râs el Ahmar, ‘Alma, and Deishûn there are Algerians. In a separate village of ‘Alma, on the same plain and within sight of its namesake, there is a large settlement of Circassians, a race which has also settled in other spots. In the extreme north, near Banias, there is one village of Nasairiyeh and another of Turkomans.’

This is an interesting commentary on the designation ‘Galilee of the Gentiles’ (Isa. ix 1; 1 Macc. v 15), which seems to imply that cosmopolitanism has always been a characteristic of this district. It was, no doubt, this characteristic which prompted the scoff: ‘Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?’ (St. John i 46).

Important for those interested in the topography of Palestine are Dr. Masterman's remarks concerning the boundaries of Galilee and the site of Capernaum. He regards Telhum as the site of the latter; and it must be confessed that his arguments are very convincing.

But of greatest general interest are the two concluding chapters of the book; that on the ancient synagogues of Galilee, containing first-rate descriptions and excellent photographs, is in itself sufficient to make the book worth having. Dr. Masterman believes that the ruins of the synagogue at Telhum represent the earliest of all those hitherto examined; and he is of opinion that the building which once stood here was the most ornate as well as the largest of all the Galilaean synagogues; possibly it was the type after which the others were modelled.

An extraordinary thing about this synagogue was that it was built of a beautiful white limestone which was shipped from a distance, block by block, for the construction of every part : the other synagogues were built of stone taken from the locality. Many designs are to be found among the *débris* of the Telhum synagogue ; of these the most interesting is a representation of the seven-branched candlestick. According to most authorities the Galilaean synagogues, judged by their remains, belong to the second or even the third Christian century. It must, however, be remembered that, in some cases at any rate, earlier buildings—presumably synagogues—stood upon these sites ; in reference to the Telhum synagogue, for example, Dr. Masterman says that the northern and eastern boundaries of the outer court are at such irregular angles to the synagogue as to make it clear that this must belong to an earlier building ; and he adds : ‘ Several massive blocks of stone lying here are ornamented in a much more primitive way than the rest, and may be remains of this more ancient synagogue.’

Some errors have crept into the book which will doubtless be rectified in a second edition ; thus, the Mishna is quoted as the Talmud (p. 5), the Midrashic work *Bereshith Rabba* is referred to as the Talmud (pp. 10, 31) ; the following tractates are wrongly spelled : *Shebuoth* (p. 5), *Rosh hashshannah* (p. 9), *Terumoth* (p. 73), and the Midrash *Shir hashshirim* (p. 73). There are misprints on pp. 74, 75 ; and on pp. 76–78 alone no less than eleven letters have dropped out.

The illustrations are as good as can be wished, and greatly enhance the value of the book.

*A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt.* By ARTHUR E. P. WEIGALL. (Methuen and Co. 1910.) 7s. 6d. net.

MR. WEIGALL'S book is a guide to the many sites of archaeological interest in Upper Egypt, and has nothing whatever to do with train routes, steamers, hotels and all the other matters of general import to the traveller. It is an archaeological guide pure and simple. A work of this kind, in order to fulfil its proper function, must not only be marked by accuracy and a high degree of technical knowledge, but must also escape a dry-as-dust lecture book style, and succeed in imparting its descriptions and historical summaries in a manner pleasant and interesting to the cultured amateur. Mr. Weigall has been remarkably successful in this



book in fulfilling all these requirements. He is himself the Inspector of Antiquities in Upper Egypt, and all the sites described are under his charge with the exception of those at Abydos and Karnak. As he possesses the necessary archaeological qualifications and a unique knowledge of each locality, the accuracy of his information is beyond dispute, while at the same time he is never ponderous or boring even on the duller sites. It must be admitted that he has splendid material to work on. Abydos, Dendera, Thebes, Luxor, Karnak Edfu, Philae, Abu Simbel, to mention only the more important ruins, are each and all not only a store house of interest to the archaeologist and historian, but a source of perpetual wonder and admiration to travellers. Mr. Weigall gives a history of each site, varying in length according to its importance, and then describes as it were in detail the principal temples or tombs as the case may be, pointing out remarkable reliefs, indicating the meaning of this or that inscription, relating the biographies of the great dead written on the walls or on the sarcophagi, in short acting not as a dragoman reeling off set phrases learnt by heart but as an expert guide who knows and loves his subject. The book presupposes a certain knowledge of Egyptology, but anyone who has succeeded in grasping the outlines of ancient Egyptian history and archaeology will find it of the greatest possible assistance when he visits the sites south of Abydos, and a most useful work of reference when he returns home. We think Mr. Weigall is at his best in his description of the tombs of the Old Empire nobles at Aswan, while he perhaps does not quite do full justice to some of the remarkable tombs in the *Biban el-Muluk*. But a high standard of excellency is maintained throughout. It is a pity so many of the plans are without a scale; this is a point which should be rectified in a future edition. Apart from this and one or two small eccentricities in transliteration, the book is a valuable addition to the travelling equipment of everyone who visits Egypt.

*The Old Egyptian Faith.* By ÉDOUARD NAVILLE, HON. D.C.L., LL.D. Translated by the Rev. COLIN CAMPBELL, D.D. 'Crown Theological Library.' (Williams and Norgate. 1910.)

5s.

M. NAVILLE says in this book that 'the fertility of invention displayed by the Egyptian mind in the domain of religion and mythology is something incredible,' and perhaps only those who, like the learned author, have given a lifetime to the study of

the ancient Egyptian beliefs fully realize the complexity and want of system which renders a clear exposition of this religion so difficult. No one is better able to set forth the outstanding characteristics of so complicated a faith than M. Naville, and this little work, originally six lectures delivered in 1905 at the Collège de France, sums up in an admirable manner all that we know of the history and development of the religion of Egypt. The extreme antiquity of the religion is evident from the fact that traces of it, such as the representations of totems on standards, appear on the decorative work of the indigenous pre-dynastic people who were yet in the stage of neolithic culture. This people M. Naville considers African and Caucasian in type, but a comparatively fair race like the modern Kabyles, and he identifies them with the Anu of later tradition whose chief city was An, On, or Heliopolis. What their religion was we hardly know, but like many other primitive peoples they buried their dead in a crouched position and in some cases dismembered them, afterwards carefully collecting the bones for re-burial. M. Naville, it is interesting to note, considers the crouched burials to be an attempt to fix the dead in a natural sitting or squatting posture, and not an imitation of the ante-natal position as has sometimes been supposed. When, a little later on, we find the country settled and the tribes united under one king, that is to say in what is called the beginning of the dynastic period, a much more complicated form of religion appears in which we are already able to recognize many of the gods and the religious customs of a later age. Not the least important is the elaborate cult connected with the dead kings, and the adoption of mummification and the extended form of burial. The author attributes this very rapid religious development to the invasion of foreigners who came originally from Arabia and thence by the land of Punt (the Red Sea littoral) to the Sudan. From here they advanced northwards into Egypt, conquering and eventually mingling with the indigenous population.

That the early dynastic period marks an extraordinary development both in religion and civilization generally there is absolutely no doubt, and that this was largely due to a foreign immigration is very probable. M. Naville tells us that the newcomers were known in later legend as the 'black-smiths,' a reference to their knowledge of the use of copper, or else as the 'followers of Horus.' Horus, the falcon-god, was their chief deity, and the earliest kings were identified with him in their names. Horus, moreover, was always asserted

by later legend to have come from the south and to have conquered his way into Egypt. But it is possible that the change was not so violent nor the development so rapid as M. Naville implies. Mr. Reisner's excavations at Nag'a el-Dêr shewed, after most careful investigation of both the archaeological and anthropological data, that all through the late pre-dynastic and early dynastic period there was no sudden interruption of development either of culture or racial type, but that progress had been slow and maintained step by step throughout the whole time. M. Naville unfortunately does not mention or discuss the results of Mr. Reisner's expedition, which were something of a bomb-shell to Egyptologists and tend to discount any very sudden change or development due to the invasion of a foreign race. Moreover, crouched burials continued down to the sixth dynasty, although dismemberment was discontinued, and the funerary texts of a later period shew the hatred and dread, felt by the dynastic Egyptians at all periods, of mutilation after death.

Proceeding to the time of the old kingdom the author discusses the wonderful reliefs of the Mastaba tombs, the religious invocations, the statues, and the funerary inscriptions on the stelae. All these elaborate funerary preparations were made for the benefit of the *Ka* or double of the deceased, the ideas concerning which were by this time old established doctrines. The ancestor worship of this and indeed all subsequent periods is nothing more than 'a simple homage to a progenitor or antecedent who is no more, and for whom all kinds of prosperity are desired.' The offerings and reliefs on the walls were therefore designed to enable the dead man to lead, by aid of the magical formulae of the prayers, an ideal existence after death. Indeed, M. Naville thinks that the pomp and state depicted often have little reference to the deceased's real position in life, but only represent the splendour in which it was hoped he would live hereafter. The so-called 'Pyramid Texts' from the royal tombs of the sixth dynasty are, however, a different matter. These are the oldest form of the elaborate funerary books common to later periods, and are designed to shew that the king is not only a god, but at his death will be able to assume the powers and forms of many deities. The great complexity and length of these texts shew that they must have been very ancient even at this remote date. Apparently, according to M. Naville, during the old empire they were employed only for the benefit of the kings. The royal cult was at all times a thing of peculiar importance and complexity,

and the author gives us a wealth of detail concerning it during the Theban monarchy, especially in connexion with Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III at Dêr el-Bahari.

It is impossible to deal in the space of a short notice with all the various and complex systems, the different enneads of gods, their separate localities, and the causes that brought certain deities into special prominence, all touched upon by the author. Nor can we describe the interesting exposition of the various funerary books, such as the *Book of the Duat* or Netherworld, and the *Book of coming forth by Day* (which M. Naville, by the way, suggests should be translated 'Book of coming forth *from* Day'). Again, there is the question of the influence of the Heliopolitan system which M. Naville considers was very strongly impressed on the cult of Amon when he was identified with Ra by the great Theban kings and, as Amon-Ra, became, for the time being, the greatest deity of the land. With regard to Osiris and the Osiris myth, M. Naville considers that almost the only 'moral' side of the Egyptian religion is connected with this god. The pantheon as a whole was a vast system of cosmic deities or abstract ideas deified, with whom moral conceptions of right and wrong played little or no part. But before Osiris the deeds of men were passed in judgement, their hearts were weighed, and a very high standard of morality was, theoretically at least, exacted before life in the underworld could be obtained. It is, however, remarkable how little place moral ideas found in the religious system of the Egyptians, although such non-religious documents as the maxims of Ptah-hotep and of Ani shew that they were assuredly not absent among the more thoughtful. It is also from this latter type of semi-philosophical writings that we obtain a glimpse of a pessimistic school who were very far from believing that the elaborate rituals and prayers of the priests would be of much avail for securing an eternal and delightful existence for the dead.

With regard to the religious revolution of Akhenaten, when the myriad cults of Egypt were suppressed and the religious life was centred in the Sun-god in his form of the Disk or Aten, M. Naville thinks that this movement was mainly a political revolt against the growing power of the priests, especially those of Amon-Ra at Thebes, nor is he inclined to see any lofty form of monotheism in the cult of the Aten, but rather a concentrated pantheism. That the priests grew to abuse their power grossly he shews by the existence of statues of the gods which were made to



move and nod by secret mechanical devices, and also by the various forms of magic practised with small figures and amulets. One particularly interesting survival is noted towards the end of the book, *viz.* that a man in certain representations simulates a sacrificial victim by being clad in a skin. This, M. Naville points out, is undoubtedly a relic of human sacrifice when enemies were slain and offered to the gods.

Altogether this is the best and clearest book on the Egyptian religion we have hitherto seen. The translation is very good, although we note that Ramasséum should in English be Ramesseum, and St. Macaire, St. Macarius. The photographs supplied by the translator are also excellent, but he is made perhaps a little too prominent on the title-page and in the introduction.

*La Religion de l'ancienne Égypte.* Par PHILIPPE VIREY. (Paris: G. Beauchesne et Cie. 1910.) 4 fr.

M. VIREY's account of the Egyptian religion and the ideas connected with it is the result of careful study and patient reading, for it covers a great deal of ground and surveys all the principal deities and dogmas. The author begins with the later traditions concerning the reign of the gods on earth and the Egyptians' conception of their deities. In the latter case the question arises as to how far it is true that the Egyptians, amidst their vast pantheon, conceived a single, all-embracing god, nameless, and with infinite power. Certainly we occasionally find mention made of 'god,' and prayers addressed to 'god' and 'the great god' without specifying any definite name. The late Sir Peter Renouf recognized in these prayers a *sensus numinis*, a vague perception of the infinite, with which interpretation M. Virey seems inclined to agree; but it is really a moot point whether a people who created in their minds a separate divinity to represent almost each animate and inanimate thing that exists were capable of evolving an all-embracing and infinite god. With regard to these later legends of the gods, how some of them came into being, and their relationship to one another and to man, while interesting in themselves they afford little help when one attempts to find out the actual history of the various cults. We think that M. Virey would have made his book more interesting and more useful if he had made an effort to disentangle some of the various myths, trace them back to earlier times, and weigh the influence exerted by the various schools of theology, such as those of Helio-

polis, Memphis, Thebes, and so forth. In short, the whole work before us is in reality more an account of the religion in its fully developed state than a history of its growth and ramifications. The author does not distinguish sufficiently between the beliefs of different periods and localities, which, as a matter of fact, often differed considerably; and although the ideas prevalent from the eighteenth dynasty and onwards represent fairly enough the most developed stage of the Egyptian religion, M. Virey would have made his book a good deal more systematic if he had traced more of his material back to its source. His acceptance of some of M. Lefébure's identifications, such as *Atum* with *Adam*, *Tammuz* with *Osiris* (*Teba-temety*), or of M. de Rougé's idea that the *Anamim* of Genesis were the people of *An* or *On*, will find little support among Egyptologists; while his own comparison of *Shu* with the patriarch Enoch is particularly unfortunate.

Nevertheless, considering the difficulty of the subject and the complexity and want of agreement displayed by the Egyptian texts themselves, M. Virey's work is very good. His account of the part played by the king in the national religion is excellent, although most of the ground has been covered before by M. Moret; so too is his description of the funeral services, the daily cult in the temples, and the arrangement of the temples themselves. His history of the principal gods, although necessarily limited, is quite adequate, but marred to some extent by want of reference to different periods and localities, while we should have been glad to hear more of what he thinks about the worship of the *Aten* or sun's disk. Justice is scarcely sufficiently done to this very interesting and brief religious revolution. M. Virey's observations on the nature of the soul and the minor points of the Egyptian religion, magic, amulets, etc., are admirable. We can hardly agree, however, with his somewhat involved interpretation of the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, which is rather a religious folk-tale than an allegory. The Egyptian religion was based primarily on magic, and man could compel the gods to do his will by the proper use of magic; in the same way hostile demons were rendered harmless. The moral element seems to enter into the religion very little indeed, a point hardly brought out with sufficient clearness by M. Virey.

The usefulness of this book is greatly enhanced by the careful notes and full references given by the author. Although perhaps in some respects uncritical, it is a serious and useful contribution to the study of the ancient Egyptian religion.

*Egypt and the Egyptians.* By the Rev. J. O. BEVAN, M.A., F.G.S., Assoc. Inst. C.E., F.S.A. With a Preface by Sir GEORGE H. DARWIN, K.C.B., F.R.S. (George Allen and Sons. 1910.) 5s. net.

THIS is a book belonging to the category which long ago aroused the exasperation of Solomon. Mr. Bevan paid a short visit to Egypt with the members of the British Association which enabled him, as he himself says, 'to launch forth upon the sacred river; to penetrate into the darkling pyramid,' and like many another tourist, he became enthusiastic about the ancient monuments and the many interesting objects Egypt has to offer to the observant traveller of to-day. Accordingly, on his return home he wrote a series of articles in a local paper on Egypt in general and her ancient civilization in particular. As such they were admirable. He has now expanded them into a book, and has thus added to the already enormous literature on this subject. We cannot help thinking he would have hesitated had he been aware that Egyptology is now a very considerable science which demands exactitude and study, while many popular books have been written on the subject containing *accurate* information for the general reader by such experts as Dr. Erman and Sir Gaston Maspero, to mention only two. Mr. Bevan himself has levied heavy contributions on Professor Petrie's history and the information contained in Dr. Budge's *Handbook to Egypt and the Sudan*; indeed, chapter ix is an unacknowledged *réchauffé* of the chronological list in an earlier edition of the latter book; the paragraph describing the slaughter of the Mamelukes, on p. 85, is copied word for word from Dr. Budge's text without any intimation of the fact. The truth is that although the author has dipped into a good deal of the literature of the history of the ancient East, he has not read sufficiently to discriminate between the uncertain and the assured facts connected therewith. He accepts Professor Petrie's system of chronology, but seems unaware that it has found favour with no other Egyptologist except the Professor himself. Again, Mr. Bevan's system of Babylonian chronology ignores the reduction in dates recently and generally accepted. We come across such solecisms as 'Khasr en-Nil,' 'Kaitbey,' and 'Sargon of Agané.' 'Mariette' is misspelt throughout, while King Seti appears as both 'Seti' and 'Sethy.' However, accuracy can hardly be expected from a book of this kind, which wanders over a very large field, not only Egypt ancient and modern but Babylonia, Assyria, Palestine, Crete and Greece. Its main object is to

illustrate the Bible narratives by the discoveries of modern archaeology, but in doing this the author seems oblivious of the very grave problems and difficulties presented not only by the ancient texts but by the results obtained by the application of the higher criticism to the Holy Scriptures themselves. Nevertheless the book is written in a pleasant, discursive, and 'chatty' style, and as the impressions of a not unobservant tourist in a most interesting country will probably be read with pleasure by many indulgent readers. We must add that we do not understand how Sir George Darwin, himself a scientist of acknowledged pre-eminence in his own domain, can have been so uninformed of the high standard now demanded by archaeological science as to have placed his name on the title-page of so amateurish a work as this.

*The Witness of the Wilderness.* By the Rev. G. ROBINSON LEES, B.A. (Longmans. 1909.) 3s. 6d.

CANON LIDDON in his Bampton Lectures recalls the story of the sceptical prince who asked his chaplain to give him some clear evidence of the truth of Christianity, but to do so in few words, because a king had not much time to spare for such matters. The chaplain replied, 'The Jews, Sir.' Mr. Robinson Lees' book tempts us to call in the Bedawin tribes to reinforce the Jews. Their history and their present condition suggest the title of the book, 'The Witness of the Wilderness.' The Bedawin of the desert existed for centuries alongside the children of Israel, both descended from kindred ancestry, yet the latter progressed while the former remained absolutely stationary. The desert tribes of the Orient still live in the primitive simplicity of Old Testament times.

Mr. Robinson Lees has spent several years in the East and has travelled in the vast area traversed by the Bedawin tribes. He describes the character of the people, their origin, history, conservatism, manners and customs. Their religion is based on the belief in an 'arbitrary and inexorable law proceeding from an objective power' (p. 198). In the Bedawin character is a blend of stolid resignation and quick passion. The poverty of the country makes life a drudgery; the climate makes work a weariness; the possibility of sudden hostile attack makes the temper morose and vindictive. Among the superstitions of the Bedawin, ancestor worship, as well as belief in evil spirits, in the evil eye, in charms, in dreams and omens all find a place.



The future of these tribes may undergo great change ere long. The new Turkish Constitution may affect them materially, just as the gradual strengthening of the Ottoman dominion has already caused some decline of their rule and power. The new railway from Damascus to Medina and Mecca may prove to be an even greater factor in their civilization.

*The Thousand and One Churches.* By SIR W. M. RAMSAY and Miss GERTRUDE L. BELL. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1909.) 20s. net.

THIS work contains a detailed description of one of the most interesting Byzantine sites in Asia Minor. The remains, which bear the name of Bin Bir Kilisse, or the thousand and one churches, are situated in the Kara Dagħ, or Black Mountains, an island of volcanic mountains which rises up in the great central plain of Anatolia, about sixty miles south-east of Iconium, and about twenty miles to the north of the main range of Taurus. Accounts of the site have been published by Laborde, Hamilton, Tenier, Holtzmann, Crowfoot and Smirnov (in Strzygowski's book *Kleinasien: ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*), and a thorough and complete description has now been given us by Sir William Ramsay, the well-known authority on the history of Asia Minor, and Miss Gertrude Bell, who has made a name for herself as an enterprising Oriental traveller, and a specialist on the history of Byzantine Church Architecture. The work is done with excessive care, it is profusely illustrated with plans and photographs, many of them preserving the record of buildings only too rapidly vanishing away. The name of Sir W. Ramsay is sufficient evidence of the thoroughness with which everything bearing on the history of the site will be written, while Miss Bell not only gives us a minute account of the remains of each building, but also supplies an elaborate dissertation on ecclesiastical architecture based on a very wide acquaintance with buildings in the East. We have one criticism to make, a criticism based on personal experience. It was, we think, a most unfortunate omission that an expedition undertaking a work of this character, and fitted out with considerable care, should not have had the services of a trained architectural draughtsman. We are given carefully executed ground-plans of the churches, but there are no sections or elevations; and we cannot but think that with the assistance of a trained architect more would have been discovered and more reconstruction would have been possible. There are other records

of explorations where we experience the same deficiency, and we hope that it may become a rule that in expeditions of this sort much trained assistance should be provided.

The Kara Dagħ is a district (like many in Asia Minor) which is now barren, desolate and uninhabited, but everywhere shews signs of irrigation, cultivation, and a large population. Remains of the so-called Hittite type which were discovered by this expedition prove that it was a centre of the old Anatolian life and religion, and it is probable that this life went on but little influenced by Greek or Roman civilization until the introduction of Christianity. The remains belong to the Byzantine period. The chief groups are found on the north side of the Kara Dagħ and bear the name of Maden Sheher or Bin Bir Kilisse. Here are the remains of a ruined city which shew traces of having been at least once destroyed and rebuilt, of many houses and public buildings, and a large number of churches. The older city was on the hill, the city in the valley grew up in the early Byzantine period. It was extensive in area and undefended. Then came the terrible period of the Arab invasions from about 660 onwards. The lower city was destroyed, the people went back to the upper city. But that was not a sufficient protection. Some three miles off up in the mountains in a secluded valley, now called Deghile, a group of monasteries had grown up: this place was fortified and became a city of refuge. After 800 A.D., when the Empire had reconquered Asia Minor and peace was restored, the lower city was again inhabited, and the churches restored. To this period also belong the remains of Byzantine fortresses in the hills. Then came the Seljuk invasion and an ever-increasing decay, only accelerated when the Ottomans succeeded the Seljuks.

The ecclesiastical remains are varied in character and in age. Some perhaps belong to the earliest period of the city, to the fifth or even the fourth century. But not all of these were restored during the second occupation, and the building of churches continued up to the end of the Christian period. The churches are very varied in character—the basilica, the barn church, the T-shaped cruciform, the cross-in-square, the trifoliate apsed chapel, the octagon, the polygon, the chapel with inner buttresses but without aisles, with all these forms the builders were familiar; but having said that we have really said almost all there is to say; they are certainly not large or imposing,—the largest are not above 120 feet long—they are singularly destitute of architectural details of interest, and the stone was so hard as

to make carving difficult, the inscriptions are few and not of great importance; the real interest of the place is that it preserves a true aspect of the provincial Byzantine city, and a singularly interesting series of small churches belonging to an unimportant and out-of-the-way site.

Nor can we acquiesce in the view that either these or other similar groups of churches in Asia Minor are of any great importance in the history of architecture. Miss Bell is an ardent pupil of Strzygowski. It is well known that his main thesis is that the origin of the later styles of Christian architecture is to be sought for in Asia Minor. We must own that we find it a little hard to discover exactly what the advocates of this opinion desire to prove, but we certainly cannot as yet see any grounds to convince us of the truth of the theory in any form that we can consider it. No doubt Asia Minor had its local peculiarities; no doubt also Bin Bir Kilisse has its peculiarities. But if, as we understand, the thesis is that either the basilica or the domed church—the two great types in their varied combinations and manifestations of Byzantine art—had its origin in Asia Minor, we can only say that there seems to us no evidence for it. There are many interesting churches preserved up and down Asia Minor, a large number of which have already been described; there is no evidence that most of them are particularly early, and they shew little analogy to non-Christian buildings that we are acquainted with in the district. They simply represent the various types of church building that prevailed elsewhere, modified to suit the local peculiarities of the district. For instance, Miss Bell points out to us that the majority of churches in Asia Minor are either domed or vaulted. That is true and it is natural. It simply arose from the fact that throughout the greater part of Asia Minor there are few trees and wood is scarce; stone, therefore, was necessarily the usual material for vaulting. It does not prove that the vault is Eastern. An important exception is the church at Kodja Kilessi, which had a wooden roof, because it was situated in Taurus where wood was plentiful.

Miss Bell's description of the churches of Asia Minor is of the greatest value, and the amount of material she has collected is of the highest interest, but the theory of Strzygowski which she would support is in our opinion just one of those new theories which are started to create a mild sensation and receive a certain vogue because of their novelty, but can only be accepted by those who direct a somewhat microscopic gaze to a small part of the field.

## III.—HISTORY.

*Diocesis Cantuariensis: Registrum Johannis Pecham*, Partes I–II.  
 ‘Canterbury and York Society’ Publications, Parts xiv., xxii.  
 (London: Issued for the Society at 124 Chancery Lane.  
 June 1908, June 1910.)

*Diocesis Londoniensis: Registrum Radulphi Baldock*, Pars Prima. *Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Segrave, Ricardi Newport et Stephani Gravesend*, Pars Secunda.  
 ‘Canterbury and York Society’ Publications, Parts xxi., xxiii. (London: Issued for the Society at 124 Chancery Lane. March, September 1910.)

THE enterprise of the Canterbury and York Society, which was established six years ago ‘for printing Bishops’ Registers and other Ecclesiastical Records,’ is one which deserves the sympathy and co-operation of historical students in no small degree. With the limited resources at its disposal—there are still only 200 members—the Society has managed to publish portions of Registers of the dioceses of Lincoln, Hereford, Carlisle, Canterbury, and London, while further instalments from Rochester and Salisbury are in preparation; and as those who are interested in these studies are aware, there is enough material available for many years to come. What is not so fully realized is the urgent necessity for such an undertaking. If the Registers of the different English dioceses were merely bald records of official facts they would possess a certain, if limited, historical interest; but the life of the Church of England in the past has been so intimately linked with the life of the nation that the diocesan records contain an enormous collection of documents of many different kinds, which throw light not only on parochial but on national history. For both reasons it is imperative that proper measures should be taken for the preservation of the originals, and we are glad to think that in many cases, at any rate, greater regard is paid to this than was formerly the case. But it must be remembered that even the greatest precautions do not always suffice to guard against the danger of fire, and there is one instance at least within the recollection of many readers which ought to give ground for anxious consideration: we refer to the fate of a portion of the records of the Church of Scotland which, having found their way into the possession of Sion College, were delivered up by judicial order to be produced in evidence before the House of Lords and were lost in the fire which destroyed the Houses of



Parliament. Such a loss, unless the records have been transcribed, is of course irreparable; and as it is the case that nearly all these records exist only in the originals, we venture to think that this consideration ought to be held to justify, if justification be needed, a subsidy towards the cost of printing them from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. And the individual student may reflect that for his subscription of a guinea he will receive each year 512 admirably printed pages of interesting historical matter, which are not likely to diminish in monetary value, as the number of copies is limited, and at the same time will be helping the little band of scholars and students who are giving time and pains ungrudgingly to the laborious task of deciphering, transcribing, and editing, in the performance of a very necessary work.

The Register of Archbishop Pecham or Peckham (1278-94) is the oldest of the Canterbury series now known to exist. The earlier volumes are said to have been carried to Rome by his predecessor, Cardinal Kilwardby, in 1278, and to have perished there in a fire. Long extracts from it were printed in the Rolls Series, but there remained a large amount of great local antiquarian interest which fills two of the Parts before us and will fill two further instalments of the series. Presumably owing to the necessity of doing as much as possible with an income of less than 300*l.* a year, the Society has not felt able to reproduce the portion already in print, and is content with giving references to the volumes of the Rolls Series in each case. We could wish that it were otherwise, but there is less objection to such a proceeding in the case of a series so widely accessible than there is in references elsewhere to a volume issued by a society for publishing county records. The work done by such societies is invaluable, but from the restricted nature of their activities their publications are usually unobtainable outside the particular county except in the largest of public reference libraries; and we venture therefore to suggest that, save possibly in the case of matter published in the Rolls Series or the State Papers—and the amount is comparatively very small—all such references should be rigorously excluded and the documents printed independently. Even Wilkins' *Concilia* is beyond the reach of many students.

The London Registers begin slightly later with Baldock (1304-13) and his three immediate successors. As in the case of Pecham's Register, the entries are transcribed in full, without abbreviations—in itself no small gain to those who are little familiar with mediaeval handwriting—and though we may perhaps differ in a very few instances as to the representation of

a contraction, it is with a sense that it is probably only hyper-criticism; for the highest praise is due to the editors of both series for the way in which the work has been performed. We can only hope that as its value becomes more widely known the Society will meet with the larger measure of support which it deserves.

*Memorials of Old Cheshire.* Edited by the Ven. EDWARD BARBER, M.A., F.S.A., Archdeacon of Chester and Canon Residentiary of Chester Cathedral, and the Rev. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A. (London: George Allen and Sons. 1910.) 15s. net.

THIS volume forms one of the series in which comes 'Yorkshire,' the work noticed in the *C.Q.R.* of April last (p. 226). Cheshire is a county to which many special interests belong. Like Durham and Lancashire, it was a county palatine, having the *jura regalia* as fully as the king in his own palace. The Earls of Chester held their own Parliaments and summoned the barons and tenants, while the Acts of the national parliament had no force within the Palatinate of Cheshire. 'Historic Cheshire,' and its Palatinate, are well treated on by Mr. Ditchfield and Mr. Henry Taylor respectively. The Abbeys and the Castles form the subjects of the next two articles, and then we come to three which deal with the most characteristic features in the county, namely, the timber-framed churches, the walls and 'rows' of Chester, and the half-timbered architecture generally. All these are well described and illustrated. Dr. Cox has undertaken the timber-framed churches, which are some of them entirely constructed in that way, others only partly so. In the best example, that of Peover, the columns and rude arches are of wood, and from the columns spring not only the usual nave arches, but obtuse arches crossing the nave. Previous to nineteenth-century 'restorations,' there were mouldings, ogee-headed doorways, and wooden window-tracery, undoubtedly of the fourteenth century. These timber churches should be taken together with the 'post and panel' or 'black and white' houses that are so characteristic of the county as to have given rise to the term 'Cheshire style,' and to have suggested the particularly happy motto which Mr. Minshull has placed at the head of his article, 'He that hewed timber out of the thick trees, was known to bring it to an excellent work.' Scarcity of stone and difficulties of transit, in conjunction with abundance of

wood, sufficiently accounts for the 'Cheshire style.' Of this style some of the finest examples are described and illustrated by excellent woodcuts; we may mention Baggily Hall, near Stockport (fourteenth century), Bramall (sixteenth century), and Moreton, similar to Bramall. Some almshouses in Chester, pulled down about 1870, formed a noble example of half-timbered work, though of course on a smaller scale and less ornate than the halls of the gentry. Isolated instances of this kind of work are found at a considerable distance from Cheshire, as for example the house called 'The Six Chimneys' at Wakefield, and there either is or was a smaller house there of the same construction.

The Archdeacon of Chester describes the walls and 'rows' of that city. The walls of Chester continue all round, involving a walk of nearly two miles, and Chester is the only place in the kingdom in which the complete circuit can now be made. At York considerable portions of the walls have been swept away. As in York, so in Chester, the walls stand in great part on Roman foundations. The bars or gateways at Chester were removed at the close of the eighteenth century, but are shewn in old prints to have been striking and picturesque buildings. The 'rows' or covered galleries over the shops in some of the streets in Chester are most remarkable, and practically unique. Their origin is unknown, and has given rise to much conjecture and discussion. Whatever their origin, they are a great public convenience, affording shelter from sun and rain in all weathers. In some places, notably in modern Bologna, the same object is attained by covered ways on the street level, separated from the street by rows of arches that carry the upper stories of the houses. Various theories of the origin of the Chester rows are stated in the Archdeacon's article, but none of these are so convincing as to explode all the rest. Bishop Lloyd's Palace in Chester is shewn by an admirable illustration to be a magnificent example of a timbered house with much beautiful detail, and a continuation of 'rows' along its street front. The space available in a Short Notice does not admit of more than a bare reference to two interesting articles by Dr. Bridge on the Chester Mystery Plays, and on Cheshire Customs, Proverbs and Folk-lore. There are several other articles on subjects of perhaps more especially local interest, and the volume is one which should be heartily welcomed by all who have any intelligent interest in the city and county of Chester, or in county history generally.

*Lancelot Andrewes and the Reaction.* By DOUGLAS MACLEANE.  
(London : George Allen and Sons. 1910.) 3s. 6d. net.

MR. MACLEANE'S is a quaint, delightful, and very unusual book. It is much more like conversation than literature. He starts with the idea, perhaps, of writing a life of Andrewes, but it is some time before he gets to its facts, and he is soon eager to desert them for an excursus into his own opinions. These are pungent, polemical, and patristic. He is Conservative in Church and State ; and there is not the least doubt that Andrewes was the same. In opinion Andrewes could not find a better interpreter ; and Mr. Macleane has something of his hero's pretty wit and elegant conceit : he is a seventeenth-century Churchman writing in the degenerate twentieth century. Dr. Johnson defined an essay as ' a loose sally of the mind, an ill-digested, ill-conditioned, piece ' ; but when we say that Mr. Macleane's book is rather an essay than a biography we do not mean to press the definition. At the same time, it is a little strange when we come to the end of Andrewes' life not to find his death mentioned at all ; we have to remember that it is recorded in the first sentence of the book and never again. Nor are the real difficulties of Andrewes' life very fully or clearly dealt with. We must be content with a *résumé* of his opinions, set in relation to modern theories, political and ecclesiastical. It is indeed in the wise saws and modern instances that the charm of Mr. Macleane's book consists. There is a chapter of extracts and examples, but such a collection of scraps torn from their context is never very satisfactory : one may remember how an Anglican bishop some years ago by this method made Andrewes quite a ' Low Churchman,' while Mr. Macleane, more justly, shews him very much the reverse. But the application is the thing with Mr. Macleane ; and he applies with a very sharp wit, worthy of old Fuller.

*Hungary in the Eighteenth Century.* By HENRY MARCZALI.  
With an Introductory Essay on the Earlier History of Hungary, by HAROLD W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (Cambridge University Press. 1910.) 7s. 6d. net.

THIS may well be said to be one of the first, if not the very first book to give English readers a real insight into the history of Hungary. Professor Marczali has devoted many years to the study of the manuscript material for the history of his



country, and has produced a series of works of the very highest value on the eighteenth century. Hungary has for a long time been in English literature (apart from translations of Jókai) the sport of the ethnologist or the partisan. Dr. Marczali is neither, but an eager, learned and candid student of history. The present volume, which has been admirably translated by Dr. A. B. Yolland, whose name ought to have been upon the title-page, is only an introduction to the study of later Hungarian politics, which might well be of more direct interest to English readers, and we wish that the good work of making Hungarian history accurately known could be continued. No one could do this more fitly than Mr. Temperley, whose introductory essay is quite masterly. A fascinating picture is presented in the book of a present linked still to an immemorial past

‘In the Eastern Carpathians bears, lynxes and wolves are still to be found, buffaloes may be seen in the marshes, and in Transylvania men are still living who have seen horses tread out the corn in true Biblical style. Even to-day a hussar stands with drawn sword before the county assembly hall, ready if necessary to resist the king and his soldiers in the true spirit of medieval autonomy.’

But this country, of which the political and religious and economic history is of such absorbing and peculiar interest, which in so many respects seems utterly unlike the rest of Europe, presents parallels even to England which both Dr. Marczali (in the case of economic policy and the treatment of the fiscal relations with dependencies) and Mr. Temperley (in regard to Magna Carta and the *Bulla Aurea*, and the foreign Habsburgs and foreign Stuarts) elucidate. Mr. Temperley’s sketch of the history up to Maria Teresa is full of interesting matter most lucidly expressed. The only points in it which we find to criticize are that he apparently gives two different dates for the introduction of toleration into Transylvania and that his spelling of difficult names is not always quite consistent. But as a brilliant introduction to the subject it leaves nothing to be desired. Much more severe is the close study of Dr. Marczali. It is long ago since we were reminded that the study of institutions could hardly even be approached without an effort. The effort here is decidedly worth making, and in the sketches of the Church and the Universities every reader will find vivacity and interest.

## IV.—PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

*The Warfare of the Soul. Practical Studies in the Life of Temptation.* By the Rev. S. C. HUGHSON. With a Preface by the Rev. A. C. MORTIMER, D.D. (Longmans. 1910.) 4s. 6d. net.

IN the preparation of any course of sermons on the spiritual combat Mr. Hughson's studies will repay consultation. Dr. Mortimer commends the book to those who desire to serve God as likely to help them to prepare for temptation, because it will teach them its true purpose, and the best methods of utilizing the attacks of the enemy by developing Christian virtue. Mr. Hughson modestly says that he offers here nothing of his own. But, at all events, he presents a great quantity of sound material in a new way, well adapted to the needs of Christian warfare in a modern world. In thirteen chapters, and in the course of some 200 pages, he deals in a practical manner with the chief topics of spiritual conflict. The Holy War is fundamentally the same in all ages, and each fresh treatment of it reminds us of the fact. Scrupoli and Bunyan, Gurnall's elaborate commentary on the sixth chapter of the Ephesians, Wordsworth's 'Happy Warrior,' and Mr. Hughson's studies are as diverse from each other as possible. But the devil, the world, and the flesh are unchanging foes, and the grace which flows from Him who was tempted in the wilderness is still sufficient for their defeat.

*The Healthful Spirit.* By the Rev. H. N. BATE, M.A. With an Introduction by the Bishop of London. (Longmans. 1910.) 2s. 6d. net.

OBVIOUSLY the familiar prayer about the healthful spirit of God's grace has suggested the title of this book, which gives the answer of the Gospel to Mrs. Eddy's principles in a healthy tone of hopefulness which wins a warm commendation from the Bishop of London. Mr. Bate takes the metaphor of health as a description of the Christian in a satisfactory spiritual condition, and his course of instruction works into that line of thought some of the leading principles of religious truth regarding the will, mind, estate, corporate life, and spiritual refreshment of the regenerate man. The book may be called optimistic, but it will certainly encourage its readers to co-operate cheerfully with God in the duty of life.

*The Science of Life and the Larger Hope.* By the Right Rev. J. E. MERCER, D.D., Bishop of Tasmania. (Longmans. 1910.) 3s. 6d. net.

THE religion of the Incarnation has not only answered dualism by shewing the identity of the God of nature and the God of grace, but it has also made man familiar with the use of natural things as the vehicle of grace and truth, in a word with the sacramental principle. The effort to shew that the invisible things are clearly seen by the things that are made has resulted in such different books as Butler's *Analogy* and Professor Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. It lay at the root of the fine work which was cut short in the early death of Mr. Aubrey Moore, and it is the basis of the Bishop of Tasmania's attempt to look at Christian hope and belief in the light of modern research and speculation. The Bishop illustrates very fully, a good many of our readers will be prepared to say much too fully, the tendency of modern theological writers to abandon the older forms of expressing Christian truth for the phrases which are familiar to popular science, and he may sometimes give up more than he thinks when he translates his beliefs into modern forms. This is specially the case in the treatment of the doctrine of the Fall and the aspects of the Atonement. But he is able to shew a firm hold upon the solidarity and the unity of God's dealings with man. He looks on God as immanent in His creation, while guarding the truth of His transcendence, and he regards the present order of nature as one expression of God's infinite Being. The Incarnation is regarded as a revelation of, and a provision for, the goal and destiny of man. The perfect atonement is finally seen, through the divine elder brother of the race, in the realization of our destiny as the Sons of God. In this evolutionary ascent we see much that is in beautiful harmony with the newest forms of truth, but we miss also a good deal about the problem of sin and reconciliation, which to our mind is more adequately supplied by the theology of Athanasius, for example, in the *De Incarnatione*.

#### V.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

*The Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey. A Diary.* By Sir W. M. RAMSAY. With episodes and photographs by Lady Ramsay. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1909.) 10s. 6d.

SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY'S diary of the events during the Revolution in Constantinople is a book of very great interest. In company

with his wife and daughter he found himself detained in that city in April 1909 ; he was living with those who knew Constantinople well, and he himself has from certain sides a better acquaintance with Turkey than almost any other Englishman. His work has the merit of setting down faithfully what he himself heard and saw as events were moving on. Much of what a man hears during a revolution is false, but the false aspects are themselves part of history. The work is made more interesting by the picturesque descriptions of what Lady Ramsay and Miss Ramsay observed, for they had an eager desire to see things, which contrasts very curiously with the detached attitude of mind of Sir William Ramsay, who was able to write an article on First Timothy while held up in the streets of Constantinople by the crowd collected to see the procession of the new Sultan to the Ministry of War.

There is a good deal that we may learn by reading the book. The first thing to be remembered is that although the revolution was, as it happened, remarkably free from bloodshed, yet it was by a very little that it was so. There can be little doubt that a massacre of Christians, including Europeans, had been planned by the Old Régime, both in Constantinople and in Asia Minor, and that it was only prevented by the fact that the army of the Young Turks heard of it, and that the attack on Constantinople was hastened by two or three days.

As we read this book we get the impression that somehow or other we have not, as a country, played our cards well in the East in recent years. The attitude of the *Times* during the period before the revolution was most unfortunate. It is probable that writers in England do not realize the immense importance attached in countries like Turkey or Greece to what seem to us harmless speculations or sentiments. But apart from this we get the impression that our influence in Turkey has been continually waning and that of Germany increasing, and that this need not have been so. And commercially we have lost considerably.

The contrast of the method of the two Foreign Offices is significant :

‘ One cannot but feel, that, while there was a certain noble side in the resolution of the British Foreign Office and Embassy not to push the cause of British trade in Turkey during the long period when British influence was so great, and though certain advantages accrued from that policy, yet the German policy, whereby the Embassy actively supports and guides German enterprise, has done far more



practical benefit to Turkey as well as to Germany. Contrast the slow progress of the English railways in Turkey under English influence with the rapid progress of two of the same railways as soon as they were transferred to German and French companies. . . . I know several English merchants, staunchly patriotic to their own country, who, during the last years of the old régime, would have welcomed the advent of Germany to control and regulate the whole administration of Turkey in the same way that Great Britain manages Egypt.'

Sir William Ramsay in this book does not desert archaeology entirely, and the impression that it leaves in that direction is that the supply of objects of antiquarian interest in Asia Minor is inexhaustible, but that we must not delay to reap the harvest ; for the new life infused into the country will mean the rapid destruction of old buildings. An old building is by far the cheapest quarry out of which to create modern improvements. A railway company building a station and anxious about dividends will not be deterred from employing the cheapest material available by the fact that they are destroying second-century inscriptions.

*Changing China.* By the Rev. Lord WILLIAM GASCOYNE-CECIL, assisted by Lady FLORENCE CECIL. (London. 1910.)  
10s. 6d.

THIS is an interesting and instructive book, and reflects the opinions of an acute intellect on a difficult and obscure subject. China has until lately been regarded as distinctly unprogressive. Professor Huxley on one occasion suggested that the infant-like formation of the lid of the Chinese eye may be indicative of the childlike character of the race. But recent events have changed all this, and have shewn that the people are quite capable of change when circumstances have urged them forward. A lady missionary told the author of this work that when she first went to Wuchang she used to see 'the soldiers dressed mediaevally, learning to make faces to inspire terror in the hearts of the adversary,' and now they appear dressed in a smart khaki uniform and armed with the most efficient weapons. In other directions the changes have been equally marked. The old examination system has been exchanged for a modern European method ; and Buddhist and Taoist temples have been converted into schoolhouses and colleges. These and other reforms are acknowledged by every society and philanthropist who is interested—and who is not ?—in the improvement of one-fourth of the human race and who is exercised as to the

best way to direct this awakening force. For there is the obvious danger that if the people, when aroused from their torpor, are not guided aright, their last state will be worse than their first, and instead of being elevated and improved they may fall lower in the order of humanity.

On his return from a tour in the Far East, Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil found that the question of establishing a university in China was creating much interest at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A committee of the two Universities had been formed to study the whole question, which accepted provisionally the idea of encouraging the foundation of a Western university. 'Before finally accepting the idea, it was felt that some one ought to go to the Mission centres of China and find out the opinion of the missionaries working on the field, and at the same time sound the Chinese Government and see whether it would be favourable to the scheme.'

Lord William's acquaintance with the subject, together with his well-known tendencies on the missionary question, marked him out as the best man for the work, more especially as he would be assisted in his investigations by his wife, Lady Florence Cecil, who might be admitted into houses which would be closed to a man. Very wisely, therefore, the Universities' committee invited Lord William and Lady Florence to undertake the investigation. This they agreed to do, being 'deeply impressed with two great facts—the greatness of the need of Western education from a Christian standpoint, and the vital importance of immediate action.'

For some years, more especially since the Boxer outbreak, it has been recognized by the more far-seeing of the missionary body that the present system of proselytism was not the best of all possible systems, and that power was wasted and good results minimized by the separation of efforts. This opinion found pointed expression in the outcome of the Universities' committee, and was eagerly advocated by Lord William Cecil, who was further in full accord with the committee when they recommended that a university should be established in some central position—Hankow, for instance—and colleges be founded in certain centres in the provinces as feeders to it. Students at this university were not of necessity to be Christians, but all should be under the control of a central governing body which would supervise their conduct. The students were to be housed in hostels, where they should receive religious instruction in accordance with their several tenets.

A missionary system on this method has already been enforced for some years in the north-eastern portion of the Empire, where the American clergy have established themselves, and with marked success. Lord William Cecil, pointing to their efforts and to the good results they have achieved, advocates a similar system for the proposed university.

*Home Life in England.* By H. L. PAGET, D.D., Bishop of Stepney. (Longmans. 1910.) 2s. net.

THOSE who have not already met with these bright and well-timed papers in the pages of the *Treasury*, as well as those who have, will be delighted to possess them in book form. The subject is one which, as too many of us know to our cost, lends itself to platitudes, but the Bishop has contrived to escape them. No one could well have a higher ideal of what a home ought to be than the son of the father and, may we not add ? the mother whose example and influence we can trace throughout these pages. Now and then our modern English society draws aside its flimsy superficial veil, and we are allowed glimpses of the domestic life of some family possessed of good birth, good breeding, good brains and good principles, from whence have sprung a group of men and women who in their different ways have benefited their own generation. Such a book, for instance, is the early life of Lord Kelvin and his gifted brother, by their sister, or, in a different way, the life of Bevan Braithwaite. Many others will readily suggest themselves.

‘From scenes like these old “England’s” grandeur springs.’

From homes like these come the moral energies which strengthen and elevate a country.

But the question is, Shall we keep our homes ? Are there not disintegrating forces at work ? The symptoms of some of these are mentioned by the Bishop (p. 8) :

‘A nervous desire to repress on the part of the parent, a growing resentment of repression on the part of the child ; an aching sense of ingratitude and irresponsiveness on the one side, a growing conviction of injustice or lack of understanding on the other . . . an attitude of all-round criticism daily more persistent and more severe ; the comparison of other people’s home life to the disadvantage of one’s own ; the gradual slow removal of the real centre of our interests from the place in which one is still supposed to live, . . . the worst is, that they all mean one thing, they all point in the same direction—they all mean that there is grit between the wheels.’

How the Bishop proposes to remedy these evils may be seen in the subsequent pages of his book. He has good advice both for the earlier and the later generation. There are delightfully quaint and epigrammatic touches here and there. For instance, when he says: (p. 37) 'Surely, if you can really get on with your brothers and sisters, you can get on with almost any one,' many of us will give him our unqualified assent. The 'stronger' a family is, the more pronounced and often antagonistic are its inherited types; the deeper the family affection, the more sensitively jealous some of its members probably are; and there is none of that glamour between brothers and sisters who have seen one another with treacly fingers and torn frocks that there usually is between the young man and his future bride when first they become acquainted.

The chapter on 'work' is excellent, and we wish we had space for fuller quotation, but the final sentence (p. 78) is one we may well lay to heart:

'It is a grievous thing when a man so bears himself in his profession as to make his profession an uninspiring thing to his sons, when, as the mystery that first veiled it wears off, it is found to be a thing of weariness and discontent, a thing of petty jealousies and fancied grievances—restless, unsatisfying, dull. . . . A good home is one in which slowly, but surely, the sons and daughters grow up to see that work is a happy thing, worth doing as well as it can be done.'

Another delightful epigram in the chapter on Religion: 'The child's question is the parent's opportunity' might well become proverbial. The whole of that chapter shews a minute and affectionate observation of children which is refreshingly unlike the conventional notions some of us appear to have on this most interesting subject. But one cannot read a page of the book without feeling that, lightly as it is touched in parts, it is the work of a shrewd observer, a cultivated and original thinker, and last—but not least—the fortunate member of an exceptionally musical family. We should like to endorse the Bishop's plea for 'home music' as contrasted with professional performances.

'The domestic art must not be allowed to perish: it must be protected, sustained, revived. It has gone through a great deal; it has served as an obligato to chatter, as a producer of sleep; enslaved, it has acquired the vices of servitude. But we are not unmusical, and many of our girls, and of our boys too, are already



learning quite enough to uplift music to a real place in the enrichment of home-life. It is good that Tom's home-coming should add the voice of the 'cello to the domestic trio' (p. 61).

It would not be fair, however, to pick any more 'plums' out of the Bishop's book. Let us be content with assuring our readers that it is quite as edifying as it is entertaining.

*The Literature of the Victorian Era.* By HUGH WALKER, LL.D., Professor of English in St. David's College, Lampeter. (Cambridge University Press. 1910.) 10s. net.

DR. WALKER'S book leaves somehow the impression that a series of interesting 'popular' lectures on Great Writers and their Times has been pieced together with a considerable number of pages dealing with a strange congeries of other writers, whom unfortunately he felt unable to omit, in order to justify his imposing title—*The Literature of the Victorian Era*. To the first section belong two and a half pages given up to stories shewing that Carlyle had bad manners; to the second the dispatch of five unhappy poetesses in seven and a half lines. The matter becomes more serious when we find that six lines only out of 1053 pages can be allowed to tell us equally that F. W. H. Myers was 'a fine critic as well as a poet' (what he wrote is left to conjecture), and how Disraeli looked in evening clothes; while to some of us it is poor consolation that twenty-five times this amount of space can be spared for Ebenezer Elliott. We do not complain of the stories, but we wish that Dr. Walker could have spared yet a little more space to tell us what is meant by Literature.

Having said so much we are bound in fairness to add that the book, in spite of its length, is a very readable one, and that those who read it with rather frequent protests still will not feel that they have been wasting their time. It moves pleasantly along from the Introduction on the 'New Age' and the 'German Influence' (Carlyle), through 'Speculative Thought' (Theology, Philosophy, Science), and 'Creative Art, A. Poetry, B. Prose Fiction,' to 'Et Cetera,' which means History and Biography, Literary and Aesthetic Criticism and Miscellaneous Prose. Dr. Walker has enthusiasms, and it is all to the good that they are by no means always the conventional ones. 'Jean Ingelow,' we are told,

'was respectable, but Augusta Webster (1837-1894) was great. For sheer strength she has no rival among the women-poets of

England except Emily Brontë, and, in respect of reputation, she is farther from the place which is justly her due than almost any other writer of recent years. She has been compared to Browning, and several reasons may be given to justify the comparison.'

(Or again :

'William Brighty Rands (1823-1882), a man as much under-rated as Helps has been over-rated. He found no one to link his name with the names of Plato and Carlyle and Wordsworth.'

We feel that the world indeed knows little of its great men, but also that Dr. Walker (and his reviewer) might claim leniency for many rash judgements in comparison with the extraordinary deliverance of Ruskin's to which this sentence alludes. It is good again to be reminded of the elder Ruskin's ambition for his son that he should 'write poetry as good as Byron's, only pious' and 'preach sermons as good as Bossuet's, only Protestant.' 'The father's pride in *Modern Painters*,' Dr. Walker tells us,

'never quite reconciled him to the loss either of the verses or of the sermons. The gorgeous prose seemed to him scarcely equivalent to the poetry which was never written; and "he would have been a bishop" was his sad remark to a friend, when contrasting what was with what might have been.'

Dr. Walker has also, like most of us, his prejudices, and though we may demur to some of his judgements, it is well to be compelled to examine the grounds of our own. We may be allowed to share his admiration for Bagehot without feeling quite so certain that 'the foundation of Stubbs's ecclesiastical history crumbles at a touch' [that of Maitland], and we should venture to dissent from the verdicts upon *Middlemarch*, *John Inglesant*, and the *Story of my Heart*. It is surely rather hard measure to Calverley to assert that 'although [he] is flawless in technique, he has very little humour and practically no poetry.' By what standard is a Calverley to be judged? Only in one instance, however, does prejudice seem to lead Dr. Walker into grave injustice. A writer who states that 'the impartial critic will discern a diminution of candour' in Dr. Pusey's works is above all others bound to be on his guard against doing him injustice, however unintentionally, as is done by the fragmentary quotation from his letter to Samuel Wilberforce given on p. 134.

The studies of the Great Writers say for the most part the

usual things in the usual way : the author's distrust of those who do not would probably have made any other course impossible for him, though we think that, if he felt obliged to select a passage from Pater for the comment 'The reader is tempted to ask whether it is altogether wholesome,' he might have withheld his hand from the description of the fritillaries in Iffley meadows. But it is a matter of taste. There are no doubt readers who will agree with the statement which sums up Tennyson :

'The author of *In Memoriam* never comes so close to us as he does in such a story as that which Spedding tells, of how he dined with Tennyson at the Cock Tavern, on two chops, one pickle, two cheeses, one pint of stout, one pint of port, and three cigars ; and when they had finished Spedding had to take the poet's regrets to the Kembles ; he could not go because he had the influenza. The rich humanity of this tale prepares us, as nothing in Tennyson's earlier writings does, for the humorous pictures of rural characters in his later volumes.'

And, as they will perceive, in Dr. Walker's company they will at any rate not be dull. But we admire the sublime detachment which enabled him also to pass so distressful a sentence upon poor Eliza Cook.

*George Edward Jelf. A Memoir.* By his Wife. With a Preface by the Lord Bishop of London. (Skeffington. 1910.) 3s. 6d.

GEORGE EDWARD JELF was born in 1834, and as the son of a Canon of Christ Church had the advantage of Dr. Pusey's prayers as his godfather. His other godfather was Prince George of Cumberland, his father's pupil. After education at Charterhouse and Christ Church, he passed into Holy Orders through the Theological College at Wells. His ministry was exceedingly varied in locality and in the character of his work, and this record of it must prove to be interesting and instructive to all lovers of the full Prayer Book standard of the Church of England. In the course of fifty years he was for eleven years a Curate, twice a Vicar, twice a Rector, the Incumbent of a Proprietary Chapel, an Honorary Canon of St. Albans, a Residentiary Canon and Vice-Dean of Rochester, and the Master of the Charterhouse. The earliest years of his ministry were marked by deep domestic affliction, afterwards fruitful in sympathy for others. He lost his first wife, and was left with four little children in 1865, and then three little girls were taken

from him in a fortnight by scarlet fever. His first patron was Lord Selborne, who chose him to be the first Vicar of Blackmoor. There he enjoyed the intercourse of Lord Selborne's family, and met Miss Charlotte Yonge. As Vicar of Saffron Walden it fell to him to co-operate in philanthropic work with the Society of Friends, and to bring the services of the Church into closer touch with the new life and spirit of the Oxford Movement. Here he married again; and his old merriment and laughter-loving nature gradually returned to him. He passed to St. Mary's, Chatham, in 1883, and entered upon the most strenuous part of his ministry. His labour there led to a physical collapse, which was followed by a few years of diocesan work and the charge of a country cure. The incumbency of St. German's, Blackheath, gave him easy access to London, and the opportunity of preaching to a congregation of educated people for seven years. His final three years at Rochester were years of study and devotion, years, too, in which he resumed a peculiar work which he always did with a combined sense of reluctance and of duty, the habit of speaking to men in the street about their souls. The details of this delicate work are exceptionally interesting. The last year as Master of the Charterhouse is, as it were, a crown placed upon a busy and useful life. Canon Worlledge adds a paper on Canon Jelf's work in Convocation and admirably illustrates its usefulness. The Bishop of London, who finds time to read so much and to write so many prefaces, sums up the character of Canon Jelf as marked by humility, a singularly loving nature, a high note of discipline, that merriment which is a sign of a pure heart, and holiness with absolute devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. He was indeed a real Barnabas, a bright witness of what a Christian ought to be.

*A Journey Godward.* By C. C. GRAFTON, Bishop of Fond du Lac. (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company. London: Mowbray. 1910.) 8s. 6d. net.

THE interest aroused by the perusal of the contents of this autobiographical volume, to which an index should have been added, is of a very varied character. There is the deep interest always belonging to the history of a soul, told in this case by a man who has brought himself to lay bare inner recesses which most men, even now, shrink from uncovering. He feels that he can call himself a servant of Jesus Christ, the proudest title



adopted in all humility by St. Paul, applied by Dean Church to Dr. Pusey in his funeral sermon in the October term of 1882, and by the irony of history, used in the profoundly lowly title of the loftiest of human pretensions, 'servus servorum Dei.'

Dr. Grafton can tell us that he began to take discipline, that he wore a steel belt with spikes in it, that he preached the Three Hours' service on Good Friday for a number of years in a fierce hair shirt. He described his yearning 'for a stigmata,' which he always mentions as if stigmata were a word in the singular number, and he discloses the words of his most secret prayers. He professes that he does this from the best of all motives, and remembering the *Confessions* of St. Augustine we believe him. But all men cannot bring themselves thus to speak. They feel that some things cannot be uttered. We must hasten to complete the personal picture by saying that samples of meditations, instructions, and spiritual addresses of a very high order are given, which make the book a valuable addition to the library of devotion; that the life described is one of incessant and arduous work; that the twenty years of an episcopate, begun after sixty, and illustrated by papers from Dr. Dafer and Dr. Rogers, were years in which Bishop Grafton created a Catholic diocese, as others have created a Catholic parish; and that his work has added a substantial chapter to the history of the Church in the 'Tyre of the further West.' There are interests of a wider range, too, which we must briefly mention. We are all of us now familiar with the passage of the Tractarian Movement into the parochial life of England, and now under Bishop Grafton's guidance we can see how the principles of the Oxford teachers took root and shape in the Church life of an American diocese. The book affords also some important evidence of intercommunion between the American episcopate and the Eastern part of the Catholic Church. The portraits of the bishops at the consecration of Dr. Weller include that of a Russian prelate. As to the portraits which adorn the letter-press we are glad to find an excellent one of Canon Carter, whom Bishop Grafton calls Dr. Carter, and a group of the Society of Saint John the Evangelist at Cowley, taken in 1903. For many readers the chief interest of the book will lie in the relation of monastic obedience to episcopal discipline. There is a great deal of useful experience recorded here about converts, sisterhoods, and religious vocation generally. But we turned with eagerness, and we must confess with some anxiety, to the story

of the formation of the Society of Saint John the Evangelist, and of the separation of the American fathers from it, when they believed that loyalty to the American episcopate rendered that course imperative. We have read again that sad letter which Father Grafton printed, but did not publish, in 1883, and which was circulated, we know not how widely, in Oxford at the time. We have then read Bishop Grafton's present narrative, and although the soreness has not quite been healed, time has greatly softened the language of the writer, and there is little said now which will hurt the name of the dead or the living, even the most venerable survivor of the unhappy controversy. We prize the book, not only for the many valuable elements of its materials, or for its fine portrait of the Bishop in his magnificent robes, but because it gives us, in the Cowley group, a little picture of Father Benson, sitting in a most characteristic attitude, in his old age, waiting like St. John among his children, and still teaching them to love one another.

*Highways and Byways in Buckinghamshire.* By CLEMENT SHORTER. (Macmillan and Co. 1910.) 6s.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE teems with interest, historical, archaeological, literary, ethnological and religious; it is also an invaluable storehouse of data for dealing with modern problems of agriculture, local government, the poor law and popular education; wherefore we cannot help feeling very envious of the opportunity that Mr. Shorter has missed. His sincere belief that what he knows not is not knowledge and that what does not interest him lacks interest provides the limitations necessary to make this book a great disappointment. The author has conscientiously skimmed some thirty-four books of records, mitigating the toil with delightful week-ends on a cycle, in a car, up the river, or by the Great Central—of which this book is an excellent advertisement—and the result he calls 'a brief history of the county.' To write inventories of what is obvious to the most superficial tourist is not helpful, and we could well have spared his opinions on flogging, free libraries, and Waterloo for more about Grimm's Dyke and the Icknield Way; the racial difference between 'hillmen' and men of the plain; the building of ammonites into church walls; the modern gipsies and poachers whose ancestors made the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds no sinecure; and the causes

and results of the decay of once famous cottage industries. We are eager to read of the Highways and Byways in Bucks and their part in the life of the nation, but we are infinitely bored to learn that Mr. Shorter disapproves of Grenville's policy after Elba, that he finds in every dismal fanatic who signed the death warrant of Charles I a 'hero,' and in every commonplace law-breaker who failed to get his own way at the expense of his neighbour a 'saint' or a 'martyr of civil and religious liberty.' Possibly that simple honest Englishman John Hampden would have blushed at being called 'The Martyr of Liberty' [surely Mr. Shorter means *for*?] who 'adorned' his county; possibly Milton would have found it difficult to forgive being praised in such bastard English. Among the names of our country's greatest, solemnly to record and index—in an index which omits Hooker—the names of half a dozen journalists who took part in 'convivial gatherings' at a riverside inn, suggests a lack of the proportion that is necessary in 'history,' and the airy summary of 'the social aspect of agriculture' in the 'fact' that wages were a shilling a day in the eighteenth century and 'are now three or four times that amount' is typical of the shallowness of the comments in this book. Where its reviewer lives wages are 2s. a day, while the much vaunted 'higher standard of living'—*i.e.* the substitution of tinned salmon for home-cured bacon—makes the 2s. far more detrimental physically than the 1s. of the eighteenth century.

As a friend is thanked for reading the proof-sheets he is probably responsible for spelling Lipscomb Lipscombe, Chalgrove Charlgrove, Chinnor Chinner, Looseley Row Looseley Road, Speen Sheen, and Bub Dodington Budd. We fear, however, that many repetitions, inaccuracies, and much debased English are the author's own. 'Horsey exploits' is not the same thing as the exploits of horses, nor are 'opposing hills' opposite hills as seems to be intended. The church at Great Kimble is not 'exactly opposite the inn' but on the same side of the road; and the small pillar at West Wycombe is not 'a lofty column.' No mention is made of holy wells; nor of the very interesting sketches of martyrs and texts from Coverdale's Bible on the kitchen walls at Blackwell Hall; nor of the watercress industry, nor of the home-brewed poppy tea (which possibly accounts for the preternatural dulness and obstinacy of the descendants of the 'freedom loving enthusiasts.') 'Most of the Aylesbury ducks are 'not' 'reared at Weston Turville,'

but may be found in equally large numbers in dozens of other villages where their rearing is the staple industry. 'The like of' (!) the twisted chimneys at Buckingham Manor House (only found at Hampton Court) are *not* found at Hampton Court at all, but *are* to be seen at Compton Wynyates Manor; Barrington Court, Fawsley Manor Dower House and other places. Dr. Gauntlett was not; accurately speaking; 'a celebrated musician,' nor is Cowper known to students as 'our greatest English letter-writer.' To describe the carved figure of our Lord seated within a vesica, with a kneeling angel on either side (over the doorway of Water Stratford Church) as 'the Saviour, supporting two angels' is not altogether happy. That 'all the original inns of England were kept by religious communities' is easier to say than to prove.

When Mr. Shorter visits Eton extremes meet. His opinion that Watts' beautiful picture of that youthful knight whose 'strength was as the strength of ten' because his heart was pure, 'is quite out of place' in the College Chapel, and should be 'relegated to the Audit-room or some other building' is best without comment.

Mr Shorter is struck by the depopulation of the villages. Old charitable trust deeds prove the existence of flourishing towns where now there are merely deserted hamlets. The patriarchal system which bred a healthy, industrious, independent race has given place to a new order, in which the envious study of the pampered pauper and the vulgar 'week-end' results in the conviction that money is the *summum bonum* and that the towns hold the secret of ways to make money without work.

We are grateful for the suggestion of a glorious twenty-mile tramp through Fingest and Turville, and we gladly agree with Mr. Shorter in deploring the substitution of 'commonplace dwelling houses' for Butler's Court; in dubbing Gerrard's Cross a 'London Suburb'; in condemning clergy who sell brasses; in disliking Chesham because it is 'inartistic.' Only Mr. Shorter; however; would expect Chesham, which battens on factories, to be anything but inartistic.

Mr. Griggs' illustrations are pretty, but many of them would be as sweet under fifty other names.



## PERIODICALS.

*The Journal of Theological Studies* (Vol. XI. No. 44. July 1910. Frowde). C. Knetes: 'Ordination and Matrimony in the Eastern Orthodox Church,' II. S. Gaselee: 'Two Fayoumic Fragments of the Acts' (Coptic text of Acts vii 14-28, ix 28-39, from MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 6948). H. St. J. Thackeray: 'New Light on the Book of Jashar (A Study of 3 Regn. viii 53 b. LXX).' W. E. Barnes: 'The Peshitta Version of 2 Kings.' A. Cowley: 'Ezra's Recension of the Law.' H. F. B. Compston: 'The Parsing of Bāzāh in 2 Kings xix 21 = Is. xxxvii 22.' A. J. Wilson: 'Emphasis in the N. T.' W. Sherlock: 'The Visit of Christ to Nazareth.' A Study in the Synoptic Gospels, Matt. xiii 54-8; Mc. vi 16; Lc. iv 16-30. A. H. McNeile: 'Matthew x 11-15.' A. Nairne: 'Two Questions of Text and Translation.' (Acts xii 25; Hebr. ix 11). A. Souter: (1) 'An Unrecorded Reference to the Rules of Tyconius (Primasius-Cassiodorus, on 2 Thess. ii 4-5, Migne, P.L. lxxviii 648 C.D.)'; (2) 'A Reading of the Fleury Palimpsest (h) of Acts' (In xxvi 22 for 'confisus' read 'consecutus'). E. Nestle: 'Some Points in the History of the *Textus Receptus* of the N. T.' W. Aldis Wright: 'Psalm cxx 3 mg.' M. R. James: (1) 'The *Revelatio Thomae* again'; (2) 'Names of Angels in Anglo-Saxon and other Documents.' G. S. Mercati: 'The Apocalypse of Sedrach.' W. E. Barnes: (1) 'The Text of the Odes of Solomon'; (2) 'Flemming and Harnack *Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert*.' C. L. Feltoe: 'A Study of some Eucharistic Phrases in the West.' G. Milligan: 'Swete *The Holy Spirit in the N. T.*'; 'Downer *The Mission and Ministration of the Holy Spirit*.' W. R. Inge: 'Sanday *Christologies Ancient and Modern*.' J. K. Mozley: 'J. H. Leckie *Authority in Religion*'; 'Forrest *The Authority of Christ*'; 'W. L. Walker *The Gospel of Reconciliation or At-one-ment*.' J. Gibb: 'O. Ritschl *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*'; 'J. W. Richard *The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church*.' W. L. Walter: 'Walther *Heinrich VIII. von England u. Luther; Zur Wertung der deutschen Reformation; Die christliche Sittlichkeit nach Luther*.' J. Oman: 'Galloway *The Principles of Religious Development*.' A. S. D. Jones: 'R. L. Ottley *Christian Ideas and Ideals*'; 'von Haering *Ethics of the Christian Life*.' Right Rev. C. West Watson: 'Chadwick *Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul*.' F. C. Burkitt: 'Codex "Alexandrinus"' (Is it Alexandrian at all?); 'Heer *Euangelium Gatianum*'; 'Glaue and Helm *Das gotisch-lateinische Bibelfragment*'; 'J. Gwynn *Remnants of the Later Syriac Version of the Bible*.' J. H. Moulton: 'Milligan *Selections from the Greek Papyri*.' Right Rev. E. C. Butler: 'Delehaye *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*.' E. J. Rapson: 'Macauliffe *The Sikh Religion*'; 'V. Henry *La Magie dans l'Inde Antique*' (2<sup>e</sup> édit.). R. A. Wiseman: 'A. Plummer *The Church of England in the XVIIIth Century*.' S. A. Cook: 'Dhorme *Les Livres de Samuel*'; 'Tofteten *The Historic Exodus*'; 'Büchler *The Jewish Community of Sepphoris*'; 'Driver *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*' (8th edit.).

*The Hibbert Journal* (Vol. VIII. No. 4. July 1910. Williams and Norgate). "Pars Minima": 'An Open Letter to English Gentlemen.' A Plea for interest in Social Reform. W. M. Childs: 'Woman Suffrage. A Review and a Conclusion.' W. James: 'A Pluralistic Mystic.' (= B. P. Blood.) W. J. Brown: 'The Message of Anarchy.' C. Clemen: 'Prof. Harnack on Acts.' L. T. More: 'The Metaphysical Tendencies of Modern Physics.' A. K. Rogers: 'Mr. Bernard Shaw's Philosophy.' E. Armistage: 'Why Athanasius won at Nicaea.' C. J. Whitby: 'Is Punishment a Crime?' J. J. Chapman: 'The Comic.' H. W. Carr: 'The Philosophy of Henri Bergson.' (The late) B. P. Bowne: 'Gains for Religious Thought in the Last Generation.' Discussions. F. Granger: 'Eucken *The Problem of Human Life* [E.T.].' A. Wolf: 'W. James *The Meaning of Truth*.'

G. Dawes Hicks: 'Windelband *Die Philosophie im deutschen Geistesleben des XIX Jahrhunderts*' (6 pp.). R. A. Duff: 'C. Read *Natural and Social Morals*.' P. Gardner: 'Headlam *History, Authority and Theology*.' 'Leckie *Authority in Religion*.' J. P. Hopps: 'Gore *Orders and Unity*' (5 pp.). E. A. Gardner: 'Farnell *The Cults of the Greek States*, V.'

*The London Quarterly Review* (No. 227. July 1910. R. Culley). G. G. Findlay: 'Some Features of the Last Century.' E. S. Waterhouse: 'The Present Position in Religious Philosophy.' T. H. S. Escott: 'Jonathan Swift in Pulpit and Press.' S. E. Keeble: 'Philosophy and the Movement for Social Reform.' C. H. Haring: 'The Pennsylvania-Germans.' J. C. K. Anstey: 'Behind the Indian Veil.' H. S. Seekings: 'The Permanent Influence of Newman.' J. A. Faulkner: 'Luther and the Peasants' War.' F. Platt: 'Psychology and Preachers.' W. F. Loft-house: 'The Poor Law Commission Reports.' J. G. Tasker: 'A New Way in Apologetics.' J. S. Banks: 'Feine *Die Theologie des N. T.*.' 'Schlatte *Die Theologie des N.T.*' 'Naville *The Old Egyptian Faith*.' 'Skinner *Genesis*.' 'Hanauer *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*.' 'Schweitzer *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*.' 'Sanday *Christologies Ancient and Modern*.' 'Christ and Civilization.' 'Orr *Revelation and Inspiration*.' 'Bussell *M. Aurelius and the Later Stoics*.' 'Mathew *Life and Times of Hildebrand*.' 'R. J. Walker *Anti Mias. A Study in Isometry*.' 'H. Walker *Literature of the Victorian Era*.' 'F. G. Peabody *The Approach to the Social Question*.' 'Conybeare *The Ring of Pope Xystus*.'

*The Dublin Review* (Vol. CXLVII. No. 294. July 1910. Burns and Oates). 'Edward VII.' W. Ward: 'Cardinal Vaughan.' C. Balfour: 'Pascal and Port Royal.' (The late) F. Thompson: 'Ad Castitatem.' A Poem. W. Barry: 'Francis Thompson's Life of St. Ignatius.' W. Ward: 'John Stuart Mill and the Mandate of the People.' H. Pope: 'The Origin of the Douay Bible.' V. M. Crawford: 'Unemployment and Education. A Lesson from Switzerland.' J. H. Moffatt: 'Beaconsfield.' F. Y. Eccles: 'After the Symbolists.' B. C. A. W[indle]: 'C. Plummer *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*.' 'Routledge *With a Prehistoric People*' (The Akikuyû). 'Sanday *Christologies Ancient and Modern*' (critical). 'W. Temple *The Faith and Modern Thought*.' 'Macken *The Canonisation of Saints*.' 'Gillett *Devoir et Conscience*.' 'Lebreton *Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité*' (laudatory). 'Milligan *Selections from the Greek Papyri*.'

*The Irish Church Quarterly Review* (Vol. III. No. 11. July 1910. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., Ltd.). N. L. Scott: 'The Followers of Caedmon.' J. A. F. Gregg: 'The First and Second Commandments in their Relation to Jewish and Christian Worship.' R. M. Gwynn: 'The Dublin University Mission to Fuh-Kien.' J. Hackett: 'The Close of the Archiepiscopal Question in Cyprus.' F. R. M. Hitchcock: 'The Literary Connexions between St. John and St. Peter.' 'Discussions on the Atonement.' 'Carleton *The Prayer Book Psalter*.' 'Plummer *St. Matthew*.' 'Chase *Confirmation in the Apostolic Age*.' 'Anglican Church Handbooks.' 'G. R. Balleine *History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*.' 'Adeney *The Greek and Eastern Churches*.' 'Krüger *The Papacy*.' 'R. L. Ottley *Christian Ideas and Ideals*.' 'Lecky *Historical and Political Essays*.'

*The Irish Theological Quarterly* (Vol. V. No. 19. July 1910. Dublin: M. H. Gill). W. T. C. Sheppard: 'The Kenosis according to St. Luke.' H. Pope: 'The Seed growing Secretly (St. Mark iv 26-9).' J. Henaghan: 'The Penal Laws of Ireland during the Reign of Q. Anne.' H. Keane: 'Christianity from a College Window' (reviews 'Glover *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*'). E. J. Cullen: 'Socialism and the Revolution.' J. MacCaffrey: 'Lives of the Irish Saints.' Reviews: 'Plummer *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*.' 'Decisions of the Biblical Commission. De Auctoribus et de Tempore Compositionis Psalmorum.'

J. MacRory: 'Stanton *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II'; 'Bishop of Ballarat *The Ephesian Canonical Writings*'; 'J. Selbst *Das Alte Testament*'; 'J. Schäfer *Das Neue Testament*.' J. MacCaffrey: 'Snead-Cox *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*'; 'Funk *Manual of Church History* [E.T.]; 'Grabmann *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, I'; 'L. O'Donovan *Henry VIII. Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*'; 'Grisar *Die Römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum und Ihr Schatz*'; 'Baudrillart *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*'; 'W. F. Leith *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*.' P. J. Toner: 'Le Roy *La Religion des Primitifs*'; 'Hogan *Maynooth College and the Laity*.' M. J. O'Donnell: 'Preuss *A Study in American Freemasonry*.'

*The Interpreter* (Vol. VI. No. 4. July 1910. Simpkin, Marshall). R. H. Kennett: 'The Sin of the Righteous.' E. F. Scott: 'The Beloved Disciple in the Fourth Gospel.' A. H. McNeile: 'The Problem of Suffering in the O.T.' E. G. King: 'Criticism and Revelation.' F. W. Lewis: 'Misinterpretations in the Fourth Gospel.' (John ii 21-2; v 3b-4; vi 6; vi 64b; vii 39). S. A. McDowall: 'The Biological Argument for Theism.' F. W. O. Ward: 'The Church's Marching Orders.' O. C. Whitehouse: 'The Condition of Egypt and Western Asia 1700-2800 B.C.' III. H. A. Dallas: 'Sacrifice as Propitiation.' H. W. Hogg: 'Orientalia,' VIII. H. Johnson: 'Schweitzer *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* [E.T.]; 'Sanday *Christologies Ancient and Modern*.' Mathew *Life and Times of Hildebrand and Diary of John Burchard*.' 'Carlyle *Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, II.'

*The American Journal of Theology* (Vol. XIV. No. 3. July 1910. Chicago University Press). H. P. Smith: 'The Origin of the Messianic Hope in Israel.' D. C. Mackintosh: 'The Pragmatic Element in the Teaching of Paul.' J. J. Martin: 'The Nature of the Atonement.' A. H. Lloyd: 'The Possible Idealism of a Pluralist.' J. A. Faulkner: 'The late Prof. Borden P. Bowne.' W. Miller and J. C. R. Ewing: 'Christian Education in India.' J. H. Breasted: 'Naville *The Old Egyptian Faith*'; 'Alt *Israel u. Aegypten*'; 'Völter *Aegypten u. die Bibel*.' I. M. Price: 'Box *Isaiah*.' G. H. Gilbert: 'Hughes *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*'; 'Guignebert *La Primauté de Pierre et la venue de Pierre à Rome*.' J. M. P. Smith: 'A new edition of Gesenius' Dictionary.' S. J. Case: 'Feine *Theologie des N.T.*'; 'Spitta *Jesus u. die Heidenmission*'; 'Goguel *L'Évangile de S. Marc et ses rapports avec ceux de Matthieu et de Luc*'; 'Zahn *Introduction to the New Testament* [E.T.]. J. Moffatt: 'Bacon *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*.' B. W. Bacon: 'Spitta *Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu*.' J. C. Granbery: 'Dibelius *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*.' J. W. Bailey: 'Holtzmann *Evangelium, Briete u. Offenbarung des Johannes*.' J. W. Thompson: 'Preble and Jackson *The Source of "Jerusalem the Golden," together with other Pieces attributed to Bernard of Cluny*'; 'Valois *Le Pape et le Concile (1418-50)*.' H. P. Smith: 'Stokes *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*.' C. H. Walker: 'Krehbiel *The Interdict, its History and Operation*.' G. Cross: 'A Schultze *Christian Doctrine and Systematic Theology*' (By the President of the Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa.); 'Scholz *Christentum u. Wissenschaft in Schleiermachers Glaubenslehre*.' 'Walter *Die Christliche Sittlichkeit nach Luther*'; 'J. Wilson *How has God spoken*' (laudatory). H. W. Wright: 'J. Lindsay *Studies in European Philosophy*' ('admirable'). A. M. Dulles: 'Grützmacher *Studien zur Systematischen Theologie*'; 'J. O. Dykes *The Divine Worker in Creation and Providence*.' G. B. Smith: 'J. Orr *Revelation and Inspiration*.' G. W. Gilmore: 'Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, II' (critical). 'Doumergue *Iconographie Calvinienne*.' 'P. Gardner *Modernity and the Churches*.'

*The Princeton Theological Review* (Vol. VIII. No. 3. July 1910. Princeton University Press). L. F. Benson: 'English Hymnody. Its Later Developments.' J. R. Mackay: 'The Westminster Promise and



'Vow.' C. R. Morey: 'The Origin of the Fish-Symbol.' H. Bavinck: 'The Reformed Churches in the Netherlands.' W. J. Beecher: 'The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, VI' (5 pp.). W. B. Greene, jr.: 'De Groot The Religion of the Chinese'; 'Schechter Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology' (6 pp.); 'S. G. Smith Religion in the Making'; 'Stalker The Ethic of Jesus'; 'S. Mathews The Social Gospel'; 'MacFarland The Christian Ministry and the Social Order.' H. M. Robinson: 'Underwood The Religions of Eastern Asia.' B. B. Warfield: 'Ewing and Thomson Temple Dictionary of the Bible' (6½ pp. Critical: Prof. Margoliouth's article on 'Religion of Israel' is 'shocking'); 'Walker Gospel of Reconciliation'; 'A. R. Burr The Autobiography.' J. O. Boyd: 'Wiener Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism.' W. H. Johnson: 'Harnack Acts of the Apostles [E.T.]' J. G. Machen: 'Stöckhardt Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer.' K. D. Macmillan: 'L. Ragg The Church of the Apostles.' N. M. Steffens: 'Van Schelven De Nederduitsche Vluchtelingenkerken'; 'Bavinck Magnalia Dei' (laudatory). C. R. Erdman: 'Law The Tests of Life' ('admirable'). T. W. Hunt: 'C. W. Kennedy The Poems of Cynewulf'; 'A. Rogers Prophecy and Poetry' ('very interesting').

*The Review and Expositor* (Vol. VII. No. 3. July 1910. Louisville, Ky.). J. A. Faulkner: 'The First (or Monarchian) Conflict on the Divinity of Christ.' F. Johnson: 'The New Evangelistic Movement in the German Church.' W. E. Henry: 'The Place of the Resurrection in History.' A. E. Thomas: 'The Value of Christ's Death.' W. T. Whitley: 'The Seven Churches of London' (Seven Particular Baptist Churches in 1644: most interesting). J. T. Christian: 'The Paulician Churches.' G. B. Eager: 'Leckie Authority in Religion'; 'Forsyth The Person and Place of Jesus Christ.' W. O. Carver: 'Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics II'; 'Sir R. Anderson A Doubter's Doubts about Science and Religion'; 'E. A. French God's Message through Modern Doubt' (favourable); 'Fairbairn Studies in Religion and Theology'; 'Eucken Christianity and the New Idealism [E.T.]'; 'Gidney History of the L.S.P.C.J. (1809-1908)'; 'J. Webster Times of Blessing in Manchuria' and 'Brewster A Modern Pentecost in South China' ('Revivals'); 'S. R. Gammon The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil'; 'Petrie Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity' (critical); 'C. W. Eliot The Religion of the Future.' A. T. Robertson: 'Bacon The Fourth Gospel' (critical); 'Meyer Jesus or Paul?'; 'Zahn Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer'; 'Koerte Menandrea, ex Papyris et Membranis Vetustissimis'; 'Autobiography of Sir H. M. Stanley'; 'Ferrero Greatness and Decline of Rome [E.T.]' W. J. McGlothlin: 'J. V. Walter Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs'; 'Seeberg Die Kirche Deutschlands im XIX Jahrhundert'; 'Westcott The Two Empires'; 'Macnutt Bartholomew de las Casas.' C. S. Gardner: 'J. Addams The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets.' A. S. Carver: 'Doane The Book of Easter.'

*The Jewish Quarterly Review* (N.S. Vol. I. No. 1. July 1910. Philadelphia: The Dropsie College. London: Macmillan). 'Editorial Announcement.' M. L. Margolis: 'The Scope and Methodology of Biblical Philology.' J. H. Greenstone: 'Two Memorial Lists from the Genizah.' (From the Amram Collection, Philadelphia. Hebrew texts.) A. Marx: 'Studies in Gaonic History and Literature.' (Hebrew texts.) I. Davidson: 'Poetic Fragments from the Genizah.' (Taylor-Schechter Loan MS. 165. Hebrew text.) M. Radin: 'A Papal Brief of Pius IV.' (Inside the parchment cover of a Tikkun for the community of Casale in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: date probably 1562.) J. A. Montgomery: 'G. A. Smith Jerusalem.' N. Bentwich: 'Judaism and Early Christianity.' J. Hoschander: 'A. T. Clay Amurru: The Home of the Northern Semites.'

*The Expositor* (N.S. Nos. 55-57. July-September 1910. Hodder and



Stoughton). W. M. Calder: 'Zeus and Hermes at Lystra.' (August. 'The "Priest" of Zeus at Lystra'). J. Orr: 'Sin as a Problem of Today. VI. Sin and Evolutionary Theory—The Origins' (August. VII. 'Sin and Heredity—The Racial Aspect.' September. VIII. 'Sin Original and Actual—The Depraved State'). S. R. Driver: 'The Method of Studying the Psalter. Psalm xvi.' E. H. Askwith: 'The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel. XI. The Ministry of Jesus according to the Fourth Evangelist' (September. XII. 'Some Objections to the Historicity of the Fourth Gospel considered'). W. Emery Barnes: 'An Ancient Christian Hymn Book.' K. Lake: 'The Early Christian Treatment of Sin after Baptism.' T. H. Weir: 'Some Fresh Bible Parallels.' J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan: 'Lexical Notes from the Papyri,' XVIII. (September. XIX.). August. G. W. Stewart: 'The Place of Rewards in the Teaching of Christ,' I (September. II. 'Examination of Christ's Teaching on the Subject in View of Objections urged against it'). S. A. Cook: 'Notes on the Old Canaanite Religion.' S. Langdon: 'Relation between Canaan and Babylonia in the Hammurabi Epoch.' J. Robertson-Cameron: 'The Lamb of God.' J. R. Wilkinson: 'A Play on Words in the Logia.' September. E. König: 'The Significance of the Patriarchs in the History of Religion.' A. R. Gordon: 'Skinner's *Genesis*.' J. R. Cameron: 'The Lamb of God.'

*The Expository Times* (Vol. XXI. Nos. 10-12. July-September 1910. T. and T. Clark). Ven. W. C. Allen: 'The Alleged Catholicism of the First Gospel and its Date.' H. A. A. Kennedy: 'Harnack on the recently discovered Odes of Solomon.' J. G. Tasker: 'Dr. Paul Feine on the Apocalyptic Teaching of Jesus.' F. Hommel: 'The Traditions of the Masai.' A. H. Sayce: 'Recent Oriental Archaeology.' Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'The Authorities for the Institution of the Eucharist,' IV (V. August). *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, VI-VII. 'Marczali Hungary in the Eighteenth Century.' 'Macleane Lancelot Andrewes.' 'S. G. Smith Religion in the Making.' 'Wickham Epistle to the Hebrews.' 'J. M. Pryse The Magical Message according to Ibannès.' August. H. R. Mackintosh: 'Christologies Ancient and Modern,' I. (II. September). S. R. Driver: 'On Maps of Palestine containing Ancient Sites,' I. (II. September. 'The only English maps of Palestine which, so far as I have examined them, can be implicitly relied upon are those in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.' 'Gospel' (etymological). J. A. Selbie: 'Skinner *Genesis*.' 'Curtis Chronicles.' G. A. Barton: 'Another View of Prof. Hilprecht's Fragment of a Deluge Tablet.' A. H. Sayce: 'The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis.' E. Nestle: (1) 'The Coat without Seam' (With Notes [Sept.] by H. S. Marwick and Bishop of Derry); (2) 'The Aramaic Name of the Passover' (= Pisha); (3) 'When did Stephen Langton die?' (With Note [Sept.] by C. S. Ward = 9 July 1228); (4) 'Acts xxi 39' (Cf. Xen. *Anabasis*, I ii 23). 'Hanson *The Originality of the Gospel*.' 'Montefiore *The Teaching of Jesus*.' 'Durell *Self-Revelation of Our Lord*.' 'Hobhouse *The Church and the World*.' 'J. B. Mayor *Epistle of St. James* (3rd edit.).' 'Pinches *Outline of Assyrian Grammar*.' 'Stahn *Die Simson-Sage*.' 'Recent Foreign Theology.' September. P. Gardner: 'The Present and the Future Kingdom in the Gospels.' J. M. Shaw: 'The Visibility of Our Lord's Resurrection Body.' 'Freely' (expository). T. H. Weir: 'The Muhammadan "Corner."' E. Nestle: 'Chronology of the O.T. in the English Bible.' 'Garstang *Land of the Hittites*.' 'Bacon *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*.' 'J. MacCaffrey *History of the Catholic Church in the XIXth Century*.'

*The Churchman* (N.S. Vol. XXIV. Nos. 55-57. July-September 1910. Stock). C. W. Emmet: 'Church Law and State Law.' A. Plummer: 'Some Chapters in the History of the Early English Church, III. Augustine and Aidan' (September. IV. 'Wilfrid and Theodore'). C. Courtenay: '"If the Edge be Blunt——" A Study

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*An die Korinther*. III. *An die Galater*; 'Wellhausen *Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis*'; 'Amann *Le Protévangile de Jacques*'; 'Ragg *The Gospel of Barnabas*.'

*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Vol. XXXIV. No. 3. July 1910. Innsbruck: Pustet). N. Paulus: 'Die Ablasslehre der Frühscholastik.' J. Stiglmayr: 'Das *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*. Zur Frage über Grundsprache, Entstehungszeit, Heimat u. Verfasser des Werkes,' II. U. Holzmeister: 'Enthalten die Verse 1 Kor. i 14 u. 16 einen Widerspruch?' H. Bruders: 'Allmähliche Einführung lässlicher Sünden in das Bekenntnis der Beicht.' M. Flunk: 'Ein neuer Sintflutbericht aus Nippur.' H. Wiesmann: 'Bemerkungen zum 1 Buche Samuels' (xiii 1; xiv 47-51). J. Denk: 'Zur Itala' (*continued*). J. Stufler: 'Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Verstocktheit.' J. Biederlack: 'Zur Frage von der sittlichen Erlaubtheit der Arbeiteraustände.' H. Bruders: 'Zur Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek in Innsbruck.' A. Schmitt: 'Villien *Histoire des Commandements de l'Église*.' E. Dorsch: 'Shuckmann *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien*.' F. Krus: 'F. W. Foerster *Autorität u. Freiheit*' (8 pp.). H. Koch: 'Hejcl *Das alttestamentliche Zinsverbot*.' A. Kröss: 'Holzapfel *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*' and 'R. de Nantes *Histoire des Spirituels dans l'ordre de S. François*.' H. Grisar: 'Kehr *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, II-IV.' J. Biederlack: 'Schrörs *Gedanken über zeitgemässe Erziehung u. Bildung der Geistlichen*.'

*Theologisch Tijdschrift* (N.S. Vol. II. No. 4. 1910. Leiden: S. C. van Doesburgh). B. D. Eerdmans: 'Exegese.' L. Knappert: 'Studien over het godsdienstig en zedelijk leven onzer Vaders.' F. C. Conybeare: 'Miscellanea. (1) On Matt. xxviii 19; (2) Armenian Dating of John's Gospel; (3) Judas Iscariot's death in the Acts of Thomas; (4) 2 Thess. ii 6-8; (5) Jacobus Didymus Christi; (6) Virgin Mary = Anahita = Kybele.' B. D. Eerdmans: 'Uit de Literatuur over het O.T.' K. Lake: 'E. Schürer.'

*Teologisk Tidsskrift* (N.S. Vol. I. No. 5. Köbenhavn: G. E. C. Gad). L. Nyegaard: 'Den grundtvigske Anskuelses Dannelses historie fra 1825-1842.' M. Giessing: 'Kirkeligt Liv i Norge i 1908 og 1909.' F. Torm: 'Schürer *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, II-III' (12½ pp.); 'Works on Papyri.' A. T. Jörgensen: 'Lutherproblemer og den nyeste Lutherforskning,' II. V. Lindegaard-Petersen: 'Sabatier *Notes d'Histoire religieuse contemporaine*.'

*The Church Missionary Review* (Vol. LXI. Nos. 735-7. July-September 1910. C.M.S.). F. Baylis: 'Some Recent Discussions of Church Polity.' H. D. Harding: 'The Present Position in Palestine.' 'World Missionary Conference, 1910,' I. (II. August). Ll. Lloyd: 'The Influence of the Christian Church on Modern Chinese Thought and Practice.' S. Heaslett: 'Will Japan become a Christian Nation?' J. H. Cook and D. D. Main: 'Principles of Medical Mission Work and their Application. I. Principles. II. How applied at Hang-Chow' (August). A. Carless: 'Statistics Expounded.' T. L. Pennell: 'Claims Enforced'. C. H. A. Field: 'Christ in Mohammedan Tradition.' T. J. Ison: 'The Marathas of Western India.' August. Right Rev. W. L. Williams: 'New Zealand since the War.' Archbishop of York: 'The Difference in the Attitude of the Church towards Missions in the Last Fifty Years.' Address to C.M.S. Summer School at Scarborough. 'Two Mission Reports. I. Central Japan. II. German East Africa.' 'W. A. Rice *Crusaders of the XXth Century*.' 'A. G. Hogg *Karma and Redemption*.' 'G. Jackson *The Fact of Conversion*,' September. C. D. Snell: 'The Primitive Faith of China.' A. J. H. Moule: 'Translation Work. Its Difficulties and Responsibilities.' Hon. S. B. Capen: 'Laymen's Share in Advocacy.' 'A Farewell Episcopal Visitation. I. The Diary of the Bishop of Madras. II. Report of the Rev. J. P. Butlin.' Ven. F. M. Jones: 'A Growing



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*The East and the West* (Vol. VIII. No. 31. July 1910. S.P.G.). Al Ghazzali : 'A Moslem Sermon on the Love of God.' C. F. Andrews : 'Race within the Christian Church.' A. G. Hogg : 'The Presentation of Christ to the Hindu.' C. T. Wang : 'A Chinese View-point on the Evangelisation of China. Being a Reply to Archdeacon A. E. Moule's Letter addressed to the Scholars of China.' A. de Selincourt : 'Indian Women and Indian Nationalism.' S. Rice : 'The Conversion of the Indian Sudras.' J. N. Farquhar : 'Field Training for Missionaries.' W. A. Norton : 'South African Native Customs. A Study in Anthropology.' 'Lord William Cecil *Changing China*.' 'Degroot *The Religion of the Chinese*.' 'Malden *Foreign Missions*.'

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GOUGH, E.—*The Miracles of the Gospels*. 'Barrowford Theological Tracts,' No. 2. Pp. 12. (Nelson : Coulson and Co. Ltd.) 2d. An attempt by a Congregationalist Minister to shew that the miracles were 'spiritual and not literal events.'

HART, J. H. A.—*The Hope of Catholick Judaism : an Essay towards Orientation*. 'Studies in the History and Doctrine of Judaism and Christianity,' Vol. I. Pp. xvi + 164. (Oxford : Parker. London : Simpkin, Marshall.) 3s. net.

JONES, M.—*St. Paul the Orator*. A Critical, Historical, and Explanatory Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul. Pp. xx + 300. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 6s.

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*The Expositor's Greek Testament.* Vol. IV. 1-2 Thessalonians. By J. MOFFATT. 1-2 Timothy and Titus. By N. J. D. WHITE. Philemon and the General Epistle of James. By W. O. E. OESTERLEY. Hebrews. By M. DODS. Vol. V. 1 Peter. By J. H. A. HART. 2 Peter. By R. D. STRACHAN. The Epistles of John. By D. SMITH. Jude. By J. B. MAYOR. The Revelation of St. John the Divine. By J. MOFFATT. Pp. iv + 476, iv + 494. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 28s. each.

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HOLE, C. (the late).—*A Manual of English Church History.* With a Preface by the DEAN OF CANTERBURY. Pp. viii + 494. (Longmans.) 3s. 6d. net.

HUTTON, W. H.—*Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.* 'Makers of National History.' Pp. xvi + 296. (Pitman.) 3s. 6d. net.

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